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English Reprints.

MASTER HUGH LATIMER,
Ex-Bishop of Worcester.

Seven Sermons before Edward VI,

On each Friday in Lent, 1549.

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1901

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

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(a) So this gentleman commeth up now with sedition. And wot ye what? I chanced in my last Sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my audience, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat [p. 35], I was herein noted to speake seditiously

(D) When I was in trouble, it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular, that no man thought as I thought, that I loved a singularity in all that I did. . . . Marry sir this was a sore thunderbolt I thought it was an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no fellow. I thought it was possible it might not be true that they told me' as of Christ in John. ch. vii. "I thought I was not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my fellow? Isaiah the Prophet [i. 22.] Ah seditious wretch what had he to do with the Mint?" Here he meddeth also with vintners? (I must tell you more news yet. I hear say, there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. The clothmakers have become apothecaries.) Isaiah goeth yet on. He calls magistrates unfaithful and fellows of thieves. There are two kinds of thieving. Robbery is a gross kind and Bribery a princely kind of thieving. Giff-gaff was a good fellow. This Giff-gaff led them clean from justice'

Story of the good fellow and the pudding 'Bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster, than the fellow would follow the pudding'

The same man that laid sedition thus to my charge, was asked another time, whether he were at the sermon at Paul's Cross. He answered he was there. And being asked what news there. Marry, quoth he, wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this, that he was such a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentleman. Indeed, his mule was wiser than he, for I dare say the mule never slandered the Preacher. Oh what an unhappy chance had this mule to carry such an ass on his back. I was there at the sermon myself. In the end of his sermon the preacher gave a general absolution, &c.

(e) Another man quickened with a word I spoke (as he said opprobriously against the nobility that their children did not set forth God's word, but were unpreaching prelates.), [p. 41] was offended with me. I did not mean so, but that some noblemen's children had set forth God's word. Howbeit the poor men's sons have done it always for the most part.

John Alasco. Melancthon. Peter Martyr. Bernard Ochin.

Now I wil to my place again. In the later end of my sermon I exhorted judges to hear the small as well as the great. The delaying of matters of the poor folk, is a sinful before the face of God as wrong judgement

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Bylyke good judges were rare at that time, and trow ye the devil has been asleep ever since?

ii. *It is good and lawful for God's people to use the laws of the realm as an ordinary help against their adversaries: so they do it not of malice*

'The greatest man in the realm cannot so hurt a Judge as the poor widow . . . And with what armour I pray you? She can bring the Judges' skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him'

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Some
circumstances in the
LIFE, &c.
of
Master HUGH LATIMER,
chiefly referring to or illustrated by
these
SERMONS.

* Probable or approximate dates.

- 1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII. becomes King.**
- Childhood. { *1491. HUGH LATIMER is born at Thurcaston. A house near the church—built in 1568, on the site of a more ancient one—is usually called *Latimer's house*. *J. Nichol. Hist. of Co. of Leicester. iii.* 1056, 1061-70.
His account of his parentage, *p* 40.
How they called pigs in his country (Leicestershire), *p* 98.
His father carefully trains him in archery, *p* 162.
He goes to Cambridge.
*1505.
- 1509. Apr. 22. Henry VIII. begins to reign.**
- At Cambridge. { 1510. Jan. act. 18. The merry monk of his college, *p* 106.
Graduates B.A. *Univ. Repr.*
There were several Latimers at Cambridge about this time. This professor of Greek there was *William Latimer*, not *Hugh Latimer*; as stated in *The Ploughers*, Ed. 1868.
1514. July. act. 22. Graduates M.A. *Univ. Repr.*
When a priest, his anxiety to mix sufficient water with the wine in the Sacrament, *p* 86.
*1521 or 1522. 'Little Bilney,' *p* 189, converts him to Protestantism.
*1529. The robbery at Oxford, *p* 119.
1530. Mar. 12. Preaches his first sermon before Henry VIII.
Comes to court, as a chaplain. The advice a great man gave him then, *p* 201.
As he afterwards tells the king, 'I never thought my self worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it.' *p* 83.
? What a Bishop said once to him, *p* 65.
1535. Cardinal Pole publishes at Rome, his letter to the King. in 4 books, *Pro ecclesiastice imitatis defensione*: see *p*. 133.
- At Court. { 1535. Oct. 5. Latimer becomes Bishop of Worcester.
1537. May—June. His conversation in the Tower with Lord Darcy [who was beheaded June 20], *p* 119.
T. Dorset, Curate of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, thus writes to his friends:—
- Bishop of Worcester. { 1538. Mar. 10. 'On Sunday last the byshope of Worcestre preched at Paulis Crosse, and he saide that byshopis, abbatis, prioris, parsonis, cannonis resident, pristis, and all, were stronge thevis, ye dukis, lordis, and all; the kyng, quod he, made a marvelles good acte of parliament that certayne men should sowe euery of them ij. acres of hempe, but it were all to litle were it so moche more, to hange the thevis that be in England. Byshopis, abbatis, with soche other, shold not haue so many seruauntes, nor so many dysshes, but to goo to their first foundacion, and kepe hospitalytie to fede the nedye people, not jolye felowis with golden chaynes and veluet gownys, ne let theym not onis come into the howses of religioun for repaste; let them call, knaue bysshope, knaue abbat, knaue prior, yet fed non of theym all, nor their horses, nor their doggis, nor ye [t] sett men at

Bishop of Worcester.

In ward.

‘Preaching for the most part every Sunday two Sermons’—*Dernher*.

libertye ; also to ete fleshe and whit mete in Lent, so that it be don without hurtyng of weke consciences, and without sedition, and lykewise on Fridaye and all dayes.’—*Cottonian M.S. Cleop. E. iv. fol. 110.* [See *Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries, Ed. by T. Wright, p 38. Ed. 1843.*]

? ‘I was once at Oxford . . . I lay there a night.’ The execution there, *p 101.*

? May 1. Riding home from London, he intends preaching in a town on his way, ‘because it was a holy day’ [Feast of the Apostles *Philip and James*] He expects to find ‘a greate company’ in the church: but is forced to give way to Robin Hood, *p 173.*

? Is accused of sedition in presence of the king, *p 83.*

Is accused of a singularity in all that he dyd, *p 84.*

1539. June 1. He resigns his bishopric. ‘As for my quondamshyp I thancke God that he gaue me ye grace to come by it by so honest a meanes as I dyd,’ *p 108.*

1539. Is defrauded of his Pentecostal due of £55, *p 83.*

Is in ward with Bp. of Chichester, and in daily expectation of death, *p 120.* For nearly the next eight years he is ‘commanded to silence.’

1547. Jan. 29. Edward VI. ascends the throne.

1548. Jan. 1. In the 1. of Ianuary doctor Latimer preached at Pauls

æct. 57. crosse, which was the first sermon by him preached in almost eight yeeres before, for at the making of the sixe articles, he being bishop of Worcester would not consent vnto them, and therfore was commanded to silence, and gaue vp his bishoprike: he also preached at Pauls crosse

8. on the 8. of Ianuary; where he affirmed, that whatsoever the cleargie commanded, ought to be obeyed, but he also declared that the cleargie are such as sit in *Moyse*s chaire, and breake not their masters commission: adding nothing thereto, nor taking any thing there from: and such a cleargy must be obeied of all men, both high and lowe. He also preached at Pauls on the 15. and on the 29. of Ianuary. *J. Stow, Chronicles, p 1002. Ed. 1605.*

Mar. 7. The 7. of March, being Wednesday was a pulpit set vp in the kings prime garden at Westminster, and there in doctor *Latimer* preached before the king, where he mought be heard of more than foure times so manie people as could haue stod in the kings chappel: and this was the first sermon preached there. *Idem.*

[*The Literary Remains of Ed. VI.* Edited by J. S. Nichols. Roxburghe Club, 1857, and *Burghley State Papers*, Edited by Rev. S. Haynes, 1740, are recommended for full details as to the following.]

25. (Palm Sunday) Latimer preached before the King: and receives the usual 20s for his labour.

1549. Jan. 17, æct. 58. The 16. of Ianuarie, Sir *Tho. Seimer* knight of the garter, baron of Sudley, lord admirall, brother to the lord Protector, and vnclie vnto king Edward, was arrested, and sent to the tower of London . . . *J. Stow, idem, p 1004.*

Jan. 18. Latimer preaches in St. Paul’s ‘shrouds,’ the sermon on *The Ploughers.*

He lives with Cranmer at Lambeth Palace. Poor people come to him in the garden to have their suits heard, *p 72.*

? Attends a sermon at Paul’s Cross, *p 89.*

Feb. 23. The council go in a body to the Tower to examine the Lord Admiral on 33 articles. He refuses to answer, except on arraignment.

24. The King consents to his prosecution.

25. A deputation from both houses of Parliament also go to the Tower. Lord Seymour replies to 3 articles, and refuses to answer the rest.
- 25—Mar. 6. A Bill of Attainder of the Lord Admiral passes through both Houses of Parliament.
- Mar. 5. (Friday) *The first sermon*, in Lent, before the King at Westminster. 'The duty of a King.'
'I haue no cause to complaine, for I thanke God and the King I haue sufficient,' p 40.
A gent eman, 'suche an one that rode on a mule,' accuses him of sedition to the king, pp 78, 84, 89, 90.
A bishop's opinion of this sermon, p 108.
10. (Sunday) The King assents to the Bill of Attainder of Lord Seymour. Rev. John Joseph, D.D., Rector of Mary-le-Bow, preaches before the King.
15. (Friday) Goodrich Bp of Ely sent to prepare the Lord Admiral for death.
The second sermon. 'The duty of a King'
The above bishop's chaplain complains of what he says at p 66; see p 108.
17. (Sunday) The Lord Admiral's execution is fixed by the Council for the following Wednesday. The Rev. Giles Eyre, D.D., preaches before the King.
(Wednesday) The Lord Admiral is beheaded; see p 117.
22. (Friday) *The third sermon*. 'The unjust Judge.'
4. (Sunday) Rev. Matthew Parker, afterwards Primate, preaches before the King.
28. (Thursday) "xxxiiij. Martij.—This day sir Michael Stanhope knt. by commandment and order of the lorde protector's grace and counsaile, received of mr. Latymer of such the King's money as came of concelement, and now delivered by th' exhortation of the said mr. Latymer, the summe of iijclxxiiijli. [£373] whereof they appointed presently Lli. [£50] by way of the King's reward to be given to the said mr Latymer in respect of his attendance at court this Lent, and the rest to be used for payments in his charge." *Privy-council Register, M.S. Addit. Brit. Mus.* 14,024; fol. 107. See *Lit. Rem. of Ed. VI.* p cxxviii.
Latimer—for his defence of the Government—is likened to Dr. Ralph Shaw, who on 22 June, 1483, at Paul's Cross, preached that Edward IV.'s sons were bastards, p 145.
29. (Friday) *The fourth sermon*. 'The unjust Judge.'
31. (Sunday) Rev. James Curthop, Dean of Peterborough, preaches before the King; see p 136.
- Apr. 5. (Friday) *The fifth sermon*. 'The lawfulness of Kings.'
7. (Sunday) Name of preacher on this day not known
12. (Friday) *The sixth sermon*. 'The miraculous draught of Fishes.'
14. (Sunday) Rev. Richard Coxe, D.D., the Kings' almoner, preaches before the King.
19. (Good Friday) *The seventh sermon*. 'The Agony in the Garden.'
1550. Lent. "And here I would be a Suter vnto your Maiestie, for I come now to take my leaue, and to take my *ultimum vale*, at least wise in this place, for I haue not long to liue, so that I thinke I shall neuer come here into this place againe, and therefore I will aske a petition of your highnes. For the love of God take an order for marriages here in England." *Last sermon before Ed. VI. Ed.* 1571, p 106.
1550. Lent. Thomas Lever preaches before the King.
1551. Latimer named a commissioner on the Ecclesiastical Law.

'The famous fryday sermons,' p 19.

Later public acts.

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

INTRODUCTION.



IN a time of seething change, of not a little uncertainty, and of exciting conflict in religious and social life; the Great Preacher of England once more comes forth to preach. Not on this occasion chiefly to citizens, as in the four sermons upon God's seed and God's ploughers, to the Londoners in the 'Shrouds at paules church' two months ago; but now, he stands in the presence of the young King, of the Lord Protector and the Council, of the Court, and—in so far as any spontaneous assembly could represent it—of the Nation at large.

From the 1st July, 1539, when Latimer laid down his bishophood rather than accept 'The Act of the Six Articles,' until the accession of Edward VI.,—nearly eight years—he, John Stow tells us, had been 'commanded to silence.' He had signalized his resumption of the office of a preacher, with a sermon at Paul's Cross on 1st January, 1548; and Augustine Bernher, his Swiss servant, testifies 'he continued all Kyng Edwardes tyme, preaching for the most part euery Sunday two Sermons.' So that his fame increased yet more and more, and the knowledge that he was about to preach attracted a large audience.

This was the third time he had preached Lenten sermons before his Sovereign. In 1534, fifteen years previous, he had preached every Wednesday in Lent before Henry VIII. But a year ago, John Stow tells us,—

The 7 of March, being Wednesday, was a pulpit set vp in the King's priuie garden at Westminster, and therein doctor *Latimer* preached before the King, where he mought be heard of more then foure times so manie people as could haue stood in the King's chappell: and this was the first sermon preached there. And now once more he is summoned to like duty, unexpectedly and upon short notice.

The time apparently is in the forenoon. He comes from Lambeth Palace, sometimes on horseback, or—when he has a purpose to serve—in a wherry down the river. Here is his own picture of himself:—

'I . . . whyche am thoroughge age, boethe weake in body and obliuious, vnapte I am, not only because of paynful study, but also for the short warning,' p 26.

He pictures his audience in thus reproving them :—

'He [Chrysofom] meanes they hard hym [Christ] quietely with out any shouelynge of feete, or walkyng v^p and downe. Suerly it is an yl mysorder, that folke shalbe walkyng v^p and downe in the fermon tyme (as I haue sene in this place thys Lente) and there shalbe suche buffyng and buffyng in the preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget hys matter. O let vs consider the Kynges Maiestyes goodnes, Thys place was prepared for banketyng of the bodye, and hys Maiefty hath made it a place for the comforte of the soule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it, shewyng hereby that he would haue all hys subiectes at it, if it myghte be possible. Consider what the Kynges Maiefty hath done for you, he alloweth you all to heare wyth him. Consider where ye be, fyrst ye oughte to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and though it be preached by pore men, yet it is the same worde that oure Sauoure spake.

Consider also the presence of the Kynges Maiestie Gods high vycare in earth, hauyng a respect to his personag, ye ought to haue reuerence to it, and consider that he is goddes hyghe minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of ye heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be thankfully taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Heare in silence, as Chrysofom sayeth. It maye chaunce that fume in the companye may fall sicke, or be diseafed, if there be any suche, let them go away with silence, let them leaue their salutacions tyll they come in the courte, let them departe with silence. I toke occasion of Chrysofomes wordes to admonyshe you of thys thyng.' p 169. From which it would seem that the assembly met within doors, in a banqueting room of the Palace.

Preaching extempore, with hardly any specific preparation (the subject of the fifth sermon was determined upon, while riding from one Palace to the other), one guiding duty directed his thoughts, viz., to adapt his subject to his audience.

'if he [a preacher] preache before a kyng, let hys matter be concernyng the offyce of a kinge.' p 25.

'I comminge ridyng in my way, and calling to remembrance wherfore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach afore ye kyngs maiefti I thought it mete to frame my preching accordyng to a king.' p 133.

But he remembers others as well ; and following his praiseworthy habit of summarizing at the beginning of each sermon the teaching of the previous one, we have

in his own opening words of the Seventh, the design and purpose worked out by him in this Lenten series.

'Al thynges yat be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thys texte (most honorable audience) I haue walked thys Lente in the brode filde of scripture and vsed my libertie, and intreated of such matters as I thought, mete for thys auditory. I haue had a do wyth many estates, euen with the highest of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Iudges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good and difalowng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all synners, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all saye, yea all the packe of vs, *peccauimus cum patribus nostris*. We haue offended and synned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes*. There is none of vs al, but we haue in fondry thinges greuouly offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of synne. We be in the place of repentance, nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in this worlde. We be all synners, euen the best of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of synne. This day is commonlye called good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accustomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembraunce of the passion of our sauour Iesu Christ This daye we haue in memory hys bytter Passion and death, which is the remedy of our syn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the story of hys passion. I am not able to intreat of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre soules and myne both, I shal desyre you to praye etc.'

This, then, is what he had to say. How he said it must be seen in the discursive discourses themselves.

The sermons of Latimer, T. Lever, and others, preached in king Edward's reign are endued with interest, partly as revealing the reforming spirit of the Reformers, their honesty, courage, and defence of the poor; and partly showing us how the Protestants thought and purposed in the new sunshine of favour that gleamed for a while over them and their works. We must forget all we know since the date of these sermons; and anticipate, as Latimer anticipated, a long life to the King, and the progressive but uninterrupted establishment of the Protestant faith in the land.

The manhood of the champions on both sides of

religious belief is most striking. Men staked their lives upon the truth of their credence, yet equally were they ready to exact the lives of others for what they considered to be heresies of faith. So Anabaptists intrepidly dying, only for their belief, extort from Latimer but a cold admiration. Such frightful mistakes have good men committed, thinking they were 'doing God service.'

Of the body of Latimer's sermons; the Eight before the King constitute, as it were, the official portion, dealing with national affairs. The Seven on *The Lord's Prayer*, and those preached 'in Lincolnshire,' deal more with devotional exposition and the personal religious life of man.

Besides a number of autobiographical reminiscences of the Preacher, these sermons contain most important data towards the history of England at this juncture. They must be read in constant remembrance of the great Attainder for High Treason just concluding as they began, and which resulted in the beheading on Tower Hill—on the Wednesday morning between the Third and Fourth sermons—of the king's uncle, the Lord Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudely—brother to the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset. Hence the otherwise hardly necessary episode at the beginning of the second sermon. Latimer there narrates the revolt and death of Adonijah, to an audience who could not but apply the startling parallel to the great prisoner in the Tower. Further on in these sermons he gives us hints and details as to the death and character of this man; some of which were omitted in subsequent editions.

These sermons for the times also bear witness of the times. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, forty years previously, had complained of the 'great dearth of victualles' in England. Everything had since become, and was becoming, dearer. These economic changes, everything being of more value—now accepted as a test of growing prosperity—were looked upon at the time as an unmitigated evil. So that from facts narrated in such bewailings, we now can approximately measure the growth of wealth in England, subsequent to the wars of the Roses.

But the Preacher has not simply to do with earthly things. His sermons are interpenetrated with Scripture; his whole thought is Biblical. To Thomas Some and others he was more than a preacher, he was to them a prophet like unto Elijah.

'Whome God hath appoynted a prophet, vnto our most noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the message of the luyng God, to supplante an l rote out al sinnes and vice, to plante and graste in mens hartes the plenteousnes of al spiritual bliffynges in Iesus Chryst our Lorde?' p 19.

These 'playn Pasquyls . . . that kepeth nothing back,' these unsparring denunciations of wrong-doing and good-omission, these merry or shocking tales, this homely but abundant eloquence: these, all these, were not all Latimer. He had a vivid, though it may be a rough grasp of the unseen, of the spiritual. He equals Luther in his conception of the Evil one; and 'the Contemplation of Hell,' the ugly and horrible 'Image of death,' 'the noble Duchefs Faith,' and her attendants, are all most striking realizations.

Truly Latimer did what he could with all his might; and a lasting fame is but due to his consistent life, his noble deeds, his martyr's death.

Finally, the Preacher takes leave of King, Court, and People in words of mingled hope and warning: words worthy of him, and as true now as when, with their last found, closed 'the famous Friday sermons of Lent,' 1549.

'Loke where remission of sin is, ther is acknowledging of sin also. Fayth is a noble duches, she hath euer her gentlen an vsher going before her, the confessing of sinnes, she hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commaundementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyl no[t] be idle, he wyl walke, he wil do his busines, haue euer the gentleman vsher with you. So if ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule. consider whether the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another fayth then thys, a whoremonkers fayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding house, and ther you shal haue two dishes, wepyng and gnashinge of teeth, muche good do it you, you se your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknoweledge your synnes, you shall come to ye blessed communion of the bitter passion of Christ, worthily, and so attayne to euerlastyng lyfe, to the whiche the father of heauen bringe you and me. Amen.'

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* Editions not seen.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

I. As a separate publication.

1. 1549. London.
2 vols. 12mo.
- Editiones principes.* These sermons were originally printed in two separate small volumes. The first sermon alone, of which see the title on the opposite page and the Imprint at p 44 : and the other six sermons together, with a somewhat misleading title, as at p 45 ; the address to his second volume being dated 21 June [1549], p 54. Whether these two works were separately published I do not know. It is possible that the first may have been issued in advance ; as an instalment towards satisfying the readers' patience. In all subsequent editions in 4to, the seven sermons are treated as one series.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. As a separate publication.

5. 1 Feb. 1869. London.
1 vol. 8vo.
- English Reprints* : see title at page 1.

II. With other works.

2. *1562. London.
27 Sermons preached by . . . Maister Hugh Latimer. 1 Hys sermon Ad Clerum. 2 Hys fourth sermon on the Plough. 3 Hys 7 sermons before Kyng Edward. AMES *Typ. Ant.* iv. 94. Ed. 1819.
3. 1571. London.
1 vol. 4to.
- Frvteful Sermons preached by the Right reuerend father, and constant Martyr of Iesus Christ. M. Hugh Latymer &c. Printed by JOHN DAY.
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III. Abridgments, Extracts, &c.

11. 1808. London.
2 vols. 8vo.
- The Fathers of the English Church. Ed. by Rev. LEGH RICHMOND. The seventh sermon is in vol. ii. 419—445, and Extracts from second and fourth at pp 650—655.

A The fyrste
Sermon of May-
ster Hughe Latimer, whi-
che he preached before
the Kyniges Maiest.
wythin his gra-
ces palayce at
Westmyn-
ster H.
D. 1534. the viii.
of Marche.

(,')

Cum gratia et Priuilegio
ad imprimendum solum.

U To the ryghte ver=

tuous and gracious Lady Katheryn
Doucheffe of Suffolk, Thomas
Some, her humble and faith
ful Oratour, wysheth
Godly fauour
and euerla-
sting sal-
uation from God the father
through Iesus Christ our
mercyfull Lorde.



UHan man is borne for man, that one to another should be a God, and not a deuyll, an helper, no hynderer, vnto whom also ye vse of the tonge is only geuen, wherby they do both expresse and shewe the affections of their mindes, there is no man which can say, I haue no nede of any man.

Ut But amonges infinite mischiefes and euyls of mans pouertie and anguysh, by which he hath nede of others mens helpe, is the instruction of prudence or vertue and of science. For mankynde in this do pre[ex]cel chiefly brute beastes because thei helpe one another by mutual communication.

In learning good and vertuous maners, the vse of commonyng is required chiefly, that men erryng and ignoraunte should be taught, for there is none which shall euer lerne of hym selfe, all thoughe he be neuer so happily borne.

Therefore, it shal become euery man, which do intende to lyue godly, to here and learne godly bookes, to prynte heauenly documentes in their hertes. For as euyll doctrine, deuilysh bokes, and fylthye talke do corrupt good maners, so faithful preceptes, godly bokes, chaste commonyng and honest shal edifie, and confirme.

Wherefore, intending to do good vnto al men and namely vnto such, as erre and be ignorant, I haue gathered, writ, and brought into lyght the famous fryday sermons of Mayster Hugh Latimer, which he preached in Lente last past, before oure most noble King Edward the fyxt, at the new Palaice of Westminster, the third yeare of hys reigne. Whiche Sermons (most vertuous Lady) I dedicate vnto your honorable grace, nothyng doubtyng but yat you wyl gladly imbrace them, not onlye because of their excellencie, but chiefly for the profyte whych shall ensue thorough them vnto the ignorante.

For in them are frutefull and godlye documentes, directing ordinatly not only the steps, conuersacyon, and lyuing of kynges : but also of other mynisters and subiectes vnder him. And let no man be greued though it be not so exactlye done as he did speake it, for in very dede I am not able so to do, to write word for word as he dyd speake, yat passeth my capacitye thoughte I had. xx. mens wittes, and no fewer handes to wryte with all. As it is vnpossyble that a litel ryuer should receiue ye recourse of ye mayne sea with in his brymmes, so yat no water should ouerwhelme the fides therof. In lyke manner is it more vnlyke my symple witte to comprehend absolutely the abundante eloquence and learnyng which floweth most abundantly out of godly Latymers mouth.

Notwithstandyng, yet had I rather with shamefastnes declare charitably thys parte of his godly documentes. and counsel, then wyth slowthfulnes forget or kepe close folishly, that thyng which may profete many.

Who is that wyl not be glad to heare and beleue the doctryne of godly Latymer? Whome God hath apoynted a prophet, vnto our most noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the message of the luyngge God, to supplante and rote out al finnes and vice, to plante and graffe in mens hartes the plenteoufnes of al spiritual blisfynges in Iesus Chryst our Lorde?

Mofes, Ieremyas, Helias, did neuer declare ye true meffage of god vnto their rulers and people, wyth a more fyncere fpirite, faythful mynde and godly zeale, then godlye Latymer doth now in oure daies vnto our moft noble Kyng and vnto the whole realme. Fur-
 iiii. Kyng xxij thermore, alfo Iofia receyued neuer the boke of gods wyl at the handes of Helkia the hie preft, or ye admonicion of Hulda ye propheteffe, with a more perfect and godly feare, then our moft noble King dothe moft faithfully, geue credytc vnto the wordes of good father Latimer. And I haue no doubt but al godly men wil lykewife receiue gladly his godly Sermons and geue credit vnto the fame. Therefore this my rude labour of another mans fwet (moft vertuous lady) I offer moft humbli vnto iour grace, mouid there vnto of godli zeale, thorough the godly fame, that is difperft vnyuerfally of your moft godly difpoficion, and vnfayned loue towards the luyngc, almyghte, eternall God and hys holye word, practyfed dayly both in your graces moft vertuous behauour, and alfo godly charitie towards the edification of euery membregrafted in Chryfte Iefu, moft humbly defiring your grace to accept fauorably thys my temerous interprife. And I your moft humble and faythful Oratour fhall praye vnto Iehouah, the God which is of him felf, by whom, and in whome, all thyngs lyue, moue, and be, that, that good worke whych he hatn begonne in you he may performe it vnto your laft endyngc, thorough our Lorde Iefu Chryft, who preferue and kepe your grace now and euer. So be it.

¶ The argument of the Sermon.



IN this fyrst Sermon is declared, and taught the godlye election of a Kyng, and a rule of godly lyuyng as touchyng hys owne person. Where he proueth oure moost excellent King Edward, to be our most lawful king both by natiuitie, and contry, yea, and now appoynted in these our dayes to delyuer vs from the daunger and captiuitie of Egypt and wicked Pharao, that is from, error and ignorance and the deuelishe antichrist the Pope of Rome. The forme of his godly rule also he deuyded here in this sermon in thre partes. Fyrst that he shuld not truste to muche vnto his owne strength and policy, but only to walke ordinatly with God and to make him his lodes man and chief guyde. Secondly that he lyue not lassyuyously and wantonly, following venereal affections, but to lyue chastly. And whan time shal require, to leade a pure lyfe, vnder the yoke of matrimonye, admonishing both his grace, and al other Maiestrates to be circumspecte in chosyng a wyfe, eyther for them selues or for theyr children, hauing this alwaies in minde, that she be, of a faythfull house, godlye broght vp, and of a pure life. Thirdly he admonyshed the kynges grace, that he should not desyre gold and syluer to muche, prouyng by many argumentes that kynd of vice wyth the other forsaide, to be destruction not only vnto the kynges grace: but also vnto the whole realme and people. In these thinges consyflith the whole summe of this sermon.

[The equivalent passages in the authorized English version, of the Latin quotations of Scripture, are given in the footnotes.]

Of M. Latimer.



*Væcunq̄e scripta sunt: ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** What soeuer

Rom. xv. a. thynges are written a fore tyme, are wrytten for our learnynge, that we through pacience and comforte of scripturs, might haue hope. In takynge thys parte of scripture (most nobill audience) I

playe as a trowant, which when he is at schole, wyl chose a lesson, wherin he is perfight, because he is loth to take payne in studienge a newe leasson, or elles feareth strypes for his slothfulnes. In lyke maner, I might seme now in my olde age to sum men, to take this parte of scripture, because I woulde wade easilye awaye there wyth, and dryue my matter at my pleasure and not to be bounde vnto a certayne theame. But

Paul speketh of gods worde only.

ye shall consyder, yat the forsayd words of Paul are not to be vnderstande of all scriptures, but only of those, which are of god, written in goddes boke, and all thynges whiche are therein, are wrytten for our learnynge, The ex[c]el- lencye of thys worde is so greate, and of hye dignitie, that there is no earthly thyng to be compared vnto it

Gen. i. a. and xvij. a.
Deut. iij. a.
Isa. xxvi. a.
Prou. viij. c.
Daniel vij. c.

The authour therof is great that is God him selfe, eternal, almightie, euerlastynge. The scripture because of hym, is also greate, eternal, moste mightie, and holy.

Ther is no kyng, Emperour, maiestrate, and ruler, of what state so euer they be, but are bounde to obey this God, and to geue credence vnto hys holy worde in directynge their steppes ordinatlye accordyng vnto the same word, yea truly they are not only bound to obey

All men ought to obey god, to beleue hys word, and to folowe it.

* Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.—Rom. xv. 4.

gods boke, but also the minister of the same, for the wordes sake, so fer as he speaketh fytynge in moyses chayre. that is, if hys doctryne be taken out of Moyfes lawe. For in thys world God hath. ii. swerdes the one is a temporal swerde the other a spirital, The temporall swerde resteth in the handes of kynges, maieftrates, and rulers vnder hym, where vnto al subiectes, as wel the Cleargy as the laite be subiect, and punisheable, for anye offence contarye to the same boke.

God ruleth
this world with
two swerdes.

The tempo-
ral swerde.

The spirituall swerde is in the handes of the ministers and preachers, wher vnto all Kynges, Maieftrates, Rulers oug[h]te to be obediente, that is, to here, and folowe, so longe as the ministers syt in Christes chayre, that is speakyng out of Christes boke.

The spiritual
swerde.

Math. xxij.

The kyngge correctyth transgressours wyth the temporall swerd ye and the preacher also yf he be an offender, But the preacher can not correct the Kyngge if he be a transgressor of goddes word, wyth the temporal swerde But he muste correcte and reprove him wyth the spyrytuall swerde, fearynge no man, settinge God only before hys eyes, vnder whom he his a minister to supplante and roote vp all vice and myscheyfe by Goddes worde, where vnto all menne oughte to be obedyente, as is mencyoned in many places of scripture, and amonges many. thys is one.

Math. xxij. a.

¶ *Quæcunque iusserint vos seruare, seruate, et facite.**

What so euer they byd you obserue, that obserue and doo Therefore let ye preacher teach, improue, amende, an[d] instructe in rightwesnes, wyth the spyrytuall swerde, fearynge no man though death shoulde infue Thus Moyfes fearynge no man wyth thys swerde, dyd reprove Kyng Pharao, at Goddes commandement.

Exod. v. vi.
vii. etc.

Micheas the prophet also dyd not spare to blame King Achab for hys wyckednes, accordinge

ijj. Reg. xxij.

* All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, *that* observe and do.—
Matt. xxiii. 3.

to goddes wil and to prophefye of his destruction contrary vnto manye false prophetes.* These forsayde kynges beinge admonished by the ministers of gods worde, because they woulde not folow their godly doctryne and correcte their lyues, came vnto vtter

Kyng Pharo destrucion. Pharao geuynge no credit punyshed. vnto Moyfes the prophet of God, but

Exod. xiiij he hard of the passage of Goddes people, hauyng no feare or remembraunce of gods worke, he did profecute after entending to destroye them and

Acab. was drowned in ye red sea. Kyng ij. Reg. xxi. Acab also because he wold not herken

vnto Micheas was kilde with an arrowe. Likewise ij. Reg. xiiij. also the house of Iereboam with other many, came vnto destruction, because he woulde not heare the ministers of Goddes worde, and correcte hys lyfe accordyng vnto his wyl, and pleasure. I et the

The preacher must haue God before his eyes che- fly. preacher therefore neuer feare to declare the message of God vnto all men. And if the king wyll not heare them then the preachers may admonyshe and charge them wyth

Euell preachers are to be refused, and not to be beleued. their dewties, and so leaue them vnto God and praye for them. But if the preachers digresse out of Christes chaire, and shal speake their owne phantasys, then in stede of, *Quæcunque iusserint vos facere, facite, et seruare.* What so euer the[y] byd you obserue that obserue and do. Change it into these

wordes folowyng: *Cauete uero uobis a pseudo Prophetis Math. vii. g. qui ueniunt ad uos etc.†* Be ware of false

Prophetes which come vnto you in shepes clothing, but inwardly, they are rauenyng woulffes, ye shall knowe them by their frutes: Yea, change *Quæcunque iusserint*, (yf their doctryne be euel) into *Cauete a fermento phariseorum, etc.‡* That is: Take

* Ahab.—1 Kings xxii.

† Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.—

Matt. vii. 15.

‡ Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.—Matt. xvi. 6.

hede and beware of the, leauen of the Pharifeis, and of the Saduces. In teaching euel doctryne, all preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wyfe to be harkened vnto. In speakyng trueth: thei are to be hard. All thynges wrytten in goddes boke, are moost certayne true, and profitable for all men. For in it, is contayned mete matter for Kynge, Prynces, Rulers, Byshops, and for alle states. Wherefore, it behoueth euery preacher, sum what to appoynt and accomodate hym selfe, and hys matter a greeable vnto the comforte, and amendemente of the audience, vnto the which he declareth the message of God. If he preache before a kyng, let hys matter be concernyng the offyce of a kinge, if before a byshoppe, then lette hym treat of byshoplye dutyes and orders, and so forthe in other matters, as time and audience shal require.

In gods boke
is matter for
all estatis.

I haue thoughte it good, to intreate vpon these wordes folowyng whyche are wrytten in the. xvii. Chapter of Deuteromye. *Cum ueneris in terram quam Dominus Deus dat tibi possederisque eam.* Deut. xvii.

*et ceter.** That is. When thou arte come vnto the Lande whiche the Lorde thy God geueth the, and enioyeste it, and dwelleste therin: If thou shalt say, I wil fet a kyng ouer me: lyke vnto al the nacions that are aboute me: Then thou shalt make him kyng ouer the, whome the Lorde thy God shall chose.

One of thy brethren muste thou make Kyng ouer the, and mayste not fet a stranger ouer the, whiche is not of thy brethren. But in any wyfe, let him not holde to many horffes, that he bringe not the people

* When thou art come into the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me;

Thou shalt in any wise set *him* king over thee, whom the LORD thy God shall choose: *one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.

But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the LORD hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.

Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.—Deut. xvii. 14—17.

agayne to Egypt, thorowe the multitude of horffes, for as muche as the Lorde hath sayd vnto you: ye shall hence forth go no more agayne that waye. Also he shal not haue to many wyues, lest he hys herte turne awaye, neyther shall he gether hym syluer and gould to much. As in dyuerse other places of scripture is mete matter for al estates. So in thys forfayede place is describyd cheyfly the doctryne fyt for a kynge. But who is worthy to vtter thys doctryne before oure moste noble kynge? Not I God knoweth, whyche am thorough age, boethe weake in body and obliuious, vnapt I am, not only because of paynful study, but also for the short warning. Well vnto God I wyll make my mone, who neuer fayled me. *Auxiliator in necessitatibus.**

God is my helper in all my necessities. To hym alone wyl I make my petition. To praye vnto sayntes departed I am not taught, to desyre like grace of god as they had (right godly it is) or to beleue God to be no lesse mercyfull vnto vs (beinge faythful) then he was vnto them, greatly comfortable it is. Therefore only vnto God let vs lyfte vp our hertes and say the Lordes prayer.

Thynges touched moste chiefly in the hole sermon.

i.



um veneris, etc.† When thou art come vnto ye land which the lord. etc. Thou shalt appoint him king. etc. One of thi brethren must thou make

king ouer the, and must not set a straunger ouer ye which is not of thy brethren.

ii. But in any wyse let not fuche one prepare vnto him selfe many horses that he bryng not. etc.

iii. Furthermore let hym not prepare vnto hym selfe many wyues, least his herte recede frome God.

iiij. Nor he shal not multiply vnto hym selfe, to much golde, and syluer. As the text doeth ryse, I wyl touche and go a lyttle in euery place, vntyl I come

* God is mine helper.—Ps. liv. 4.

† See text on previous page.

vnto to much. I wyl touche al the forsayd thynges, but not to muche. The texte is, when thou shalt come into the land. etc.

To haue a kyng the Israeletes dyd wyth muche importunitye call vnto God, and God longe before promised them a kyng and were full certified thereof, that God hadde promised that thyng. For vnto Abraham he sayd: *Ego crescere te faciam vehementer ponamque te in gentes, sed et reges ex te prodibunt.** Gen. xvii. a.

That is, I wil multipli the excedingly, and wil make nations of the, yea and kings shal spring out of the. These wordes were spoken long before the chyldren of Israe had any king, Notwithstandyng, yet God prescrybid vnto them an order, howe the[y] shulde chose their kyng, and what manner a man he shoulde be, where he saith: whan thou shalt come in to the lande, etc. As who shoulde say. O ye children of Israe I knowe your nature ryght well, whiche is euyl, and inclined vnto al euyls. I know that thou wilt chose a kyng to raygne ouer the and to apere glorious in the face of the world, after the manner of gentyles, But because thou art stiffe necked, wilde, and art geuen to walke without a brydell, and lyne. Therefore now I wyll preunte thy euyl and bestly manners I will hedge strongly thy waye, I wyll make a durable lawe, whyche shal compell the to walke ordinatlye, and in a plain way, that is thou shalt not chose the a kyng after thy wyll and fantasye but after me thy Lord and God. Thus, god condycioned wyth the Iewes, that theyr king should be suche a one as he hym self wold chose them. And was not much vnlyke [t]he bargayne that I herd of late shulde be betwixte two fryndes A notable fable. for a horffe, the owner promysed the other shuld haue the horffe yf he wold, the other axed ye price, he sayd: xx. nobles The other wold geue hym but iiiii. pound: ye owner said he shuld not haue hym then, The other claymed the horffe bycause he sayd, he

* I will make thee exceeding fruit- and kings shall come out of thee.—
ful, and I will make nations of thee; Gen. xvii. 6.

shoulde haue hym if he wold, Thus thys bargayne became a westminster matter, the lawyers gote twyfe the valure of the horse, and when all came to all, two fooles made an ende of the matter. Howbeit, the Israelites coulde not go to lawe wyth God, for chofynge theyr kynge, for would they, nyl they, theyr kinge shold be of his chofynge, lest they shoulde walke inordinatly, in a deceyuable way, vnto theyr vtter losse and destruction. For as they say commonly *Qui vadit plane, vadit sane.* that is. He that walketh playnly, walketh safely. As the Iewes were styfnecked, and were euer ready to walke inordinatelye, no lesse are we Englyshe men geuen to vntowardnes, and inordinate walkynge after oure owne fantasies and braynes. We wyll walke wythoute the limites of Goddes worde, we wyll chose a kyng at our owne pleasure.

i. Reg. xix. a. But let vs learne to frame our lyues after the noble king Dauid whych when he had manye occasions, geuen of kyng Saul to worke euyl, for euyl, yea, and hauynge manye tymes oportunitie to per-

i. Reg. xxiiij. a.
Red ye stories
they be verye
pleasaunt and
profytable.

fourme mischief and to slay king Saule. Neuerthelesse yet fearyng, would not folowe hys fleshly affections and walke inordinatelye, wythoute the wyll of Gods

worde, whych he confessed alwayes to be hys direction, sayinge. *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum*

Psal. cxviiiij. v.

*tuum et lumen semitis meis.** Thy worde, O

Gods worde
is oure lyght.

Lorde is a Lanterne vnto my feete, and a lyght vnto my steppes. Thus hauynge in mynde, to walke ordinatly he did alwaies auoyde to do euyll. For whan kyng Saul was in a caue without anye man. Dauid and hys men fytting by the sydes of the caue, yea and Dauids men mouyng hym to kyl Saul, Dauid made answer and sayd vnto them: *Seruet me dominus, ne rem istam. etc. contra dominum meum Messiam etc.†* That is The Lord kepe

Dauid dyd
walke ordy
natly.

* Thy word is a lamp unto my feet,
and a light unto my path.—Psa. cxix
105

† The LORD forbid that I should
do this thing unto my master, the
LORD'S anointed.—1 Sam. xxiv. 6.

me from doying this thing vnto my maister yat is the lordes anointed. At another tyme also, moued by Abisay to kyl Saul sleping, Dauid said: *Ne interficias eum, quis enim impune manum suam inferret* i. Reg. xxvi. b. *vncto domino etc.** That is: Destroye hym not, for who can laye hys handes on the Lordes anoynted and be gyltleffe. etc. I wold God we wolde folowe King Dauid, and then we shuld walke ordinatly, and yet do but yat we are bounde of dutye to do, for God sayth: *Quod ego præcipio, hoc tantum facito.†*

That thing which I commande that only do. There is a greate error risen now a daies among many of vs, which are Phantastical brayns are reproued inordinatly. vayne and new fangled men clymbyng beyond the lymites of our capacitye and wytte, in wrenching thys text of scrypture, hereafter folowyng, after their owne phantasie and brayne, their erreure is vpon this text: *Audi vocem populi in omnibus quæ dicunt tibi, non enim te reprobant sed me reprobarunt ne regnem super eos.‡*

That is: Heare the voyce of the people in all that they say vnto the, for they haue not caste the a way but me. Thei wrench these wordes a wrye after their owne fantasies, and make much doubte as touchynge a kynge, and hys Godlye name. They that so do walketh inordinatly, they walk not directely and playnly, but delite in balkes, and stubble way.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walke God calleth his ministers by dyuerse names. ordinately with god, and derect their steps with god. For both patriarkes Iudges, and kynges, had, and haue their authoritye of God, and therefore Godli. But this ought to be considered which God faieth. *Non præficere tibi potest hominem alienum.§* that is. Thou must not set a straunger ouer the.

* Destroy him not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the LORD's anointed, and be guiltless?—1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

† What thing soever I command you, observe to do it.—Deut. xii. 32.

‡ Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.—1 Sam. viii. 7.

§ Deut. xvii. 15: see text at p. 25.

Kyng Edwa.
ye vi. is our na-
turall kyng
and a most pre-
cious treasure.

It hath pleased God to graunt vs a naturall liege kyng and Lorde, of oure owne nation an Englysh man, one of our owne religion. God hath geuen hym vnto vs, and is a mooste precious treafure, and yet mani of vs do desyre a straunger to be kyng ouer vs. Let vs no more desyre to be bankers, but lett vs endeuoure to walke ordinatelye and plainely, after the word of God Let vs folow Daniel, let vs not seke the death of oure mooste noble and ryghtfull Kyng, oure owne brother, boeth by natyuyty, and Godly relygion. Let vs pray for hys good state, that he may lyue long among vs.

Let vs praye
for hys lyfe.

Oh what a plage were it, that a straunge kinge of a straunge land, and of a straung religion should raygne ouer vs. Where nowe we be gouerned in the true relygion, he should extirpe and plucke away all to gether, and then plante agayn all abomynacyon, and popery, GOD kepe fuche a kyng from vs. Well the kynges grace hath syfters, my Ladye Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth, whych by succeffion and course are inheritours to the crowne. Who yf they shulde mary with straungers, what should ensue GOD knoweth. But god graunt they neuer come vnto coursyng nor succedyng. Therefore to auoyd thys plage, let vs amende oure lyues and put awaye all pryde, whyche dothe drowne men in thys realme at these dayes, all couetousnes where in the magistrates and ryche men of thys realme are ouerwhelmed, all lechery and other excessyue vyces, prouokyng gods wrath, were he not mercyful, euen to take from vs oure naturall kyng and leyge Lorde, yea, and to plage vs wyth a straunge kyng for oure vnrepentaunte herte. Wherefore (yf as ye faye) ye loue the kyng, amende your lyues, and then ye shalbe a meane that GOD shall lende hym vs longe to raygne ouer vs, for vndowtedlye synnes prouoke muche goddes wrath scripture faith: *Dabo tibi regem in furore meo,**

A stranger
wold rote out
al godlynes
and plante a-
gayn al hypo-
crys.

They that
loue God or
the kyng wyl
amende theyr
sinful lyuing.

* I gave thee a king in mine anger.—Hos. xiii. 11.

That is: I wyll geue a kynge in my wrathe. Now we haue a lawfull kyng, a godly kynge, neuertheles yet many euyls do raygne. Longe tyme the mynisters appoynted, hath studied to amende, and redres al euyles, long time before thys greate laboure hathe bene about this matter; great crakes hath bene made that al shoulde be well. But when all came to all for theyr bof^{tes}, lyttle or nothyng was done, in whome these words of Horace mai wel be veri- Horacius fied sayng. *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus.* The mountaines swelleth vp, the pore moufe is brought out, long before thys tyme, many hath taken in hande to bryng manye thynges vnto paste, but finally theyr worckes came vnto small effect and profyte. Now I here say all thinges are ended after a Godly maner, or els shortelye shall be. Make hast, make hast, and let vs learne to conuerte, to repente, and amende our lyues. If we do not, I feare, I feare, lest for our synnes and vnthankefulnes, an Hipocrit shal raigne ouer vs. Long we haue bene seruantes and in bondage, seruyng the The pope hath longe raigned. pope in Egypte. God hath geuen vs a deliuerer, a natural kynge. Let vs seke no stranger of another nacion, no hypocrite whiche shall bryng in agayne al papistr^{ie}, hypocricie, and Idolatrye. No diabolicall minister whyche shall mayntayne all deu^{el}ishe worckes and euyll exercises. But let vs pray Let vs no more seke to serue a straunger. that God mayntayne and continue oure most excellent kynge here presente, true inheritoure of thys our realme, both by natyuytye, and also by the special gift and ordinaunce of God. He doth vs rectify Let vs pray for our king. in the libertie of the gospel, in that therefore let vs stand. *State ergo in libertate, qua Christus* Gala, v. a. *nos liberauit.** Stande ye in the libertye, wherwyth Chryste hath made vs free. In Chrystes lybertye,

* Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. —Gal. v. 1.

we shall stande, If we so lyue that we profyte. If we cast away all euyl, fraude, and deceyte, with such other vices, contrary to Gods word. And in so doing we shal not onely prolonge and mayntayne our most noble kynges dayes in prosperitie: but also we shal prosper our owne lyues, to lyue not onelye prosperously, but also godly.

The seconde
parte of hys
sermon.

In any wyfe, let no suche a wone prepare vnto him self manye horffes. etc. In speakyng these wordes, ye shal vnderstand, that I do not entend to speake agaynste the strengthe, polyfye, and prouision of a kyng, but agaynste excesse, and vayne truste that kynges haue in them selues, more then in the liuing god the authour of al goodnes, and geuer of all victory. Many horffes are requisite for a king, but he maye not excede in them, nor triumphe in them, more then is nedeful, for the necessary affayres and defence of the realme: what meaneth it, that god hath to do wyth the kynges stable? But only he would be mayster of hys horffes, the Scripture sayeth, *In altis habitat*. He dwelleth on hye, it foloweth. *Humilia respicit*.* He loketh on lowe thynges, yea, vpon the Kynges stables. and vpon al the offyces in hys house. God is great grand mayster of the Kynges house, and wil take account of euery one that beareth rule therin, for the executing of their offices, Whether they haue iustly and truely serued the kyng in their offices or no. Yea god loketh vpon the kyng hym selfe, if he worketh well or not. Euery kyng is subiecte vnto God, and all other men are subiectes vnto ye king. In a king god requireth faith, not exces of horffes. Horffes for a kyng be good and necessarye, if thei be wel vsed: But horffes are not to be preferred aboue pore men. I was ones offendid with the kynges horffes, and therefore toke occasion to speake in the presens of the kynges maiestye that dead is,

Psal. cxij.

God is grand
mayster in ye
kynges house

* Though the LORD be high, yet hath he respect vnto the lowly.—
Psa. cxxxviii. 6.

whan Abbeis stode. Abbeis were ordeyned for the comferte of the pore, Wherefore I sayde it was not decent that the kings horffes shuld be kept in them (as manye were at that tyme) the lyuynge of poore men therby minished and taken a way: But after ward a certayne noble man sayd to me, what hast thou to do with ye kinges horffes? I answered, and sayd, I speake my conscience as goddes word directeth me. He said horffes be ye mayntenaunces and parte of a kynges honoure, and also of hys realme, wherefore in speakyng againste them ye are against the kynges honoure. I answered. God teacheth what honoure is decente for the kyng and for al other men accordynge vnto their vocations. God apoynteth euery king a sufficient lyuynge for hys state and degre boeth by landes and other customes. And it is lawfull for euery kyng to enioye the same goodes and possessyons. But to extorte and take awaye the ryghte of the poore, is agaynste the honoure of the kinge. And you do moue the kinge to do after that manner, then you speake agaynste the honoure of the kyng. For I ful certifye you, extorcioners, violent opressers, in grossers of tenamentes and landes, throughe whose couetousnes, villages decaye and fall downe, the kinges leige people for lacke of sustinaunce are famished and decayed. They be those whyche speke a gainst the honour of the kyng. God requireth in the king and al magistrates a good herte, to walke directlye in hys wayes. And in all subiectes, an obedience dewe vnto a kyng. Therefore I pray god both the king and also we his people maye endeuer diligen[t]ly to walke in his wayes, to hys greate honoure and our profite. Let hym not prepare vnto him selfe to many wyues. etc. Al

An answer declaringe the true honoure of a kyng.

He describeth ye dyshonors of a kyng playnely and most truely.

god requireth a good herte.

The. iii. parte of his sermon

Kinges of the Iewes had a dispensacion to haue mo wyues then one.

and to thinke that we may take also many wiues.

For Christe hath for byden thys vnto vs Christians. And lette vs not impute synne vnto the Iewes because they hadde many wyues. For they hadde a dispensacion so to do. Christe limiteth on wyfe vnto vs only And it is a greate thyng for a man to rule one wyfe ryghtly, and ordinatly. For a woman is frayll and procliue vnto all euels, a woman is a very weake vessel, and maye sone deceyue a man, and brynge hym vnto euell. Many examples we haue in holy scripture. Adam had but

On[e] wyfe is hard to be wel ruled.

one wyfe, called Eue, and howe sone had she brought hym to consent vnto euell, and to come to destruction, How dyd wycked Iefabell preuente kynge Hachabs herte from god and al godlines, and finally vnto destruction. It is a very hard thyng for a man to rule wel one wo-

A godly woman is to be chosen.

man. Therefore let oure kynge, what tyme hys grace shalbe so mynded to take a wyfe to chose hym one whych is of god, that is, whyche is of the housholde of fayth. Yea let all estates be no lesse circumspect in chosynge her, takynge great deliberation, and then shal not need dyuorfementes, and such myscheues to the euel example and sclauder of our realm, And that she be one

Loue whych is godly is to be preferred aboue al erthlye thynges in maryage.

as the kyng can fynd in hys hert to loue and leade hys life in pure and chaste esposage, and then shall he be the more prone and redy to aduance gods glorye, punishe, and extirpe, the great lecherye vsed in this realme. Therefore we ought to make a continuall prayer vnto god, for to graunt oure kynges grace suche a mate as maye knyght hys hert and heres, accordyng to goddes ordynance and lawe, and not to confider and cleaue onely to a politike matter or coniunction, for the enlargynge of dominions, for fuer-tye and defence of contres, setting apart the institution and ordinaunce of God. We haue nowe a prety

litle shilling, in dede a very pretye one. I haue but one I think in my purffe, and the laste daye I had put it awaye almoste for an olde grote, and so I truste some wyll take them. The fynes of the filuer I can not fe. But therin is prynted a fyne sentence: that is. *Timor Domini fons vitæ vel sapientie*.* The feare of the Lorde is the fountayne of lyfe or Wyfdome. I wolde god this sentence were alwaies printed in the herte of the kyng in chosynge hys wyfe, and in al hys officers. For lyke as the feare of God is *fons sapientie* or *vitæ*, so the forgetting of god is *fons stulticie* the fontayne of folishnes or of death, although it be neuer so politike, for vpon such politike matters death doth ensue and folowe. All their deuorcementes and other lyke condicioncs to the greate displeasure of all myghtye God, whiche euylles I feare me, is much vsed at these daies in the mariage of noble mens children, for io[i]ning landes to landes, possessions, to possessions, neither the vertuous educacion, nor liuinge being regarded, but in the infancy such mariages be made, to the displeasuer of god and breach of espoufals. Let the king therfor chose vnto him a godly wyfe, wherby he shal the better liue chaste, and in so liuyng all godlines shal encrease and ryghtewefnes be maynteyned. Notwithstanding, I knowe here after, some wyll come and moue your grace towards wantonnes and to the inclinacyon of the fleshe and vayne affections. But I would your grace should beare in memorye, an hystorye of a good king called Lewes, that trauelled towards the holye lande (whiche was a greate matter in those dayes) and by the waye syckyned, beyng longe absente from hys wyfe. And vpon thys matter the phisitians dyd agre, yat it was for lacke of a woman. And dyd consulte with the

Notable saying.

Prouer. xvi.

The well of life or wisdom.

Polisi if it be not of God bryngeth death.

A notable hystorye of a frensh kyng.

The good counsell of Byshops.

* The fear of the LORD is a fountain of life.—Prov. xiv. 27.

bishops therein, who dyd conclude that becaufe of the distance of hys wyfe (beyng in an other contrye) he should take a wenche. Thys good kyng hering their conclusion would not assent there vnto, but sayde, he had rather be fycke euen vnto death then he wold breake his espoufals. Wo worth such confellers, bishops, nay rather buffardes. Neuertheles if the king shoulde haue consented to their conclusyon, and accomplished the same, yf he had not chanfed well, they wolde haue executed the matter as I haue harde of two yat haue consulted together, and according to the aduyse of his friend the one of them wrought where the succession was not good.

The other imputed a pefe of reproche to hym for hys such counsell geuen. He excused the matter sayeing: that he gaue hym none other counsell, but if it had byne hys cause he woulde haue done likewise. So I thinke the bishops wolde haue excused the matter, yf the king should haue reprobued them for their counsell. I do not

Note. rede that the King did rebuke them for their council, but yf he had, I knowe what woulde haue ben their aunswere. They would haue sayde, we geue you no worffe council, then we wolde haue folowed oure felues, yf we had ben in like case. Wel fir, thys Kyng

The kyng
fearynge god
auoyded euil
dyd wel, and had the feare of god before hys eyes. He wold not walke in bywalkes, where are many balkes. Amongest many balkinges, is much stumbling and by stombling it chaunceth many tymes to fal downe to the ground.

And therefore, let vs not take any biwalkes, but let gods word directe vs, let vs not walke after, nor leane to our owne iudgementes and procedynges of oure forfathers, nor seke not what they dyd, but what th[e]y shoulde haue done, of which thyng scryp-

Deut. xii. a. ture admonysheth vs saying: *Ne inclinemus præceptis et traditionibus patrum neque faciamus quod videtur rectum in oculis nostris.**

* Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers.—Ezek. xx 18. that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes.

Ye shall not do after all the things —Deut. xii. 8.

Let vs not inclyne our felues vnto the preceptes and tradycyons of oure fathers, nor let vs do that semeth ryght in our eyes. But fuerlye, we wyll not exchange oure fathers doynge and tradicions, with scripture, but cheifely lene vnto them and to theyr prescription, and do that semeth good in oure owne eyes. But fuerly that is goynge downe the ladder, Scala cæli as it was made by the Pope came to be a Masse, but that is a false ladder to bringe men to heauen. The true ladder to brynge a man to heauen is the knowledge and folowyng of scripture. Let the kyng therfore chose a wyfe whych feareth god, let hym not feke a proude, wanton and one ful of rich treasures and worldelye pompe. He shall not multiplye vnto hym selfe to muche gold and siluer. Is ther to muche thynke you for a kyng? God doeth alowe muche, vnto a kyng, and it is expediente that he should haue muche, for he hath great expenses, and many occasions to spende muche for the defence and fueritie of hys realme and subiectes.

The. iij. parte
of the sermon

A kyng may
haue muche,
for his expen-
ces are great.

And necessary it is that a kyng haue a treasure all wayes in a redines, for that, and such other affayres, as be dayly in hys handes. The which treasure, if it be not sufficiente, he maye lawfully and wyth a false conscience, take taxis of hys subiectes. For it were not mete, the treasure, shoulde be in the subiectes purses whan the money shoulde be occupied, nor it were not best for themselues, for the lacke there of, it myght cause both it, and all the rest that they haue shold not long be theirs, And so for a necessarye and expedyent occacion, it is warranted by goddes word to take of the subiectes. But if there be sufficiente treasures, and the burdenynge of subiectes be for a vayne thyng. so yat he wyl require thus much, or so much of his subiects, whyche perchaunce are in great necessitie, and penurye. Then this couetous intent, and the request thereof, is to muche, whych god forbiddeth the king her in this

Note whan
the king hath
to muche of
hys commens.

Who shall se
thys to much
None that be
seruauntes to
the Kyng.
of fauer.
Thei bee of
Co[r]poral eyes
can not se to
much.
haue a paier
Spirytuall
eyes are to be
had, fayeth
charytye.
of spectacles,
whiche shall
haue two cleare
fyghtes in them,
yat is, ye one is
fayth, not a
seasonable fayeth,
whiche shall laste
but a whyle, but
a fayeth, whiche
is continuyng
in God. The
seconde cleare
fichte is charitie,
whych is feruente
towards hys
Chrysten brother.
By them two,
must the Kyng
se euer whan
he hath to
muche. But fewe
therbe that
vseth these
spectacles,
the more is
theyr dampnacion,
Not wythoute
cause
Chrysofome
wyth admiracion
fayeth.

Mirror si aliquis rectorum potest saluari.
I maruell if
anye ruler can
be faued. Whyche
wordes he
speaketh not
of an impossibilitie,
but of a great
difficultie For
that their charge
is maruelous
great, and that
none aboute
them dare shew
them the truth
of the thing
how it goth. Wel:
then, if God
wyl not allowe
a king to much.
Whither wyl
he allowe a
subiect to much?
no, yat he
wyl not Whether
haue any man
here in England
to much? I
doubte most
riche men
haue to muche,
for wythout
to muche, we
can get nothyng.
As for example.
The Phisicion.
If the pore
man be dyseased,
he can haue
no helpe
wythout to
much? and
of ye lawier,
the pore man
can get no
counsell,
expedicion,
nor helpe
in his matter,
except he
geue him
to much. At
marchandes
handes, no
kynd of
wares can
be had,
except we
geue for
it to
muche. You
landelordes,
you rentreifers,

I maye faye you steplordes, you vnnaturall lordes, you haue for your possessions yerely to much. For that herebefore went for. xx. or. xl. pound by yere, (which is an honest porcion to be had *gratis* in one Lordeshyp, of a nother mannes sweat and laboure) now is it let for. l. [fifty] or a. C. [hundred] pound byyeare. Of thys to muche commeth thys monsterous and portentious dearth- is made by man, not with standynge God doeth sende vs plentifullye the fruites of the earth, mercyfullye, contrarye vnto oure desertes, Not wythstandynge to muche, whyche these riche menne haue, causeth fuche dearth, that poore menne (whyche liue of theyr laboure) can not wyth the sweate of their face haue a liuinge, all kinde of victales is so deare, pigges, gefe, capons, chickens, egges. etc.

Rentraysers
steplordes.
Vnnatural
Lordes.

Of thys to
muche com-
mith all dear-
this and scarcitie

These thinges with other are so vnreasonably enhansed. And I thinke verely, that if it this continewe, we shal at length : be constrained to paye for a pygge a pounce. I wyl tel you my lordes and maysters, thys is not for the kynges honoure, Yet some wyl faye, knowest thou what belongeth vnto the kynges honoure better then we? I answere, that the true honoure of a Kinge, is moost perfectly mencioned and painted furth in the scriptures, of which, if ye be ignoraunt, for lacke of tyme yat ye cannot reade it, albeit, that your counsaile be neuer so politike, yet is it not for the kynges honoure. What his honoure meaneth ye canot tel. It is the kynges honoure yat his subiectes bee led in the true religion. That all hys prelates and Cleargie be fet about their worcke in preching and studieng, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is honour that the comen wealth be auaunsed, that the dearth of these forsaied thynges be prouided for, and the commodities of thys Realme so employed, as it may be to the setting his

Note the co-
uetous men.

This to much
is not for the
kynges honor.

A description
of the kynges
honour.

Fyrste in true
religion.

ye Kinges
ij. a welthy
comminaltie.

subiectes on worke, and kepyng them from idlenes. And herin resteth the kinges honour and hys office, So doynge, his accompte before God shalbe alowed, and rewarded. Furder more, if the kinges honour (as sum men say) standeth in the great multitude of people.

Thyrdly the kynes honnure standeth in the multitude of people.

Then these grafiers, inclosers, and rent-rearers, are hinderers of the kings honour.

For wher as haue bene a great meany of householders and inhabitauntes, ther is nowe but a shepherd and his dogge, so thei hynder the kinges honour most of al. My lordes and maisters, I say also, that all suche procedynges which are

Thys to much wyl make yomanry slauery, and the shauery, clargy.

agaynste the Kynges honoure (as I haue a part declared before) and as far as I can perceiue, do intend plainly, to make the yomanry slauery and the Cleargye shauery.

For suche worckes are al syngular, priuate welth and commoditye. We of the cleargye had to much, but that is taken away. and nowe we haue to little.

Clargy had to muche, but nowe to lytle.

But for myne owne part, I haue no cause to complaine, for I thanke God and the kyng.

I haue sufficient, and God is my iudge I came not to craue of anye man, any thyng, but I knowe them that haue to litle. There lyeth. a greate matter by these

An example of the clargy.

appropriacions, greate reformacions is to be had in them. I knowe wher is a great

market Towne with diuers hamelets and inhabitauntes, wher do rise yereli of their labours to the value of. l. [fifty] pounde, and the vicar that serueth (being so great a cure) hath but. xii. or. xiiii. markes by yere, so that of thys pension he is not able to by him bokes, nor geue hys neyghboure dryncke, al the great gaine goeth

An example of ye yomanry.

another way. My father was a Yoman, and had no landes of his owne, onlye he had a farme of. iii. or. iiii. pound by yere at the vttermost, and here vpon he tilled so much as kepte halfe a dosen men. He had walke for a hundred shepe, and my mother mylked. xxx. kyne, He was able and did find the king a harnesse, wyth hym selfe, and hys

horffe, whyle he came to ye place that he should receyue the kynges wages. I can remembre, yat I buckled hys harnes, when he went vnto Blacke heeath felde. He kept me to schole, or elles I had not bene able to haue preached before the kinges maiestie nowe. He maryed my fyfters with v. pounce or. xx. nobles a pece, so that he broughte them vp in godlines, and feare of God.

He kept hospitalitie for his pore neighbours. And sum almest he gaue to the poore, and all thys did he of the sayd farme. Wher he that now hath it, paieth. xvi. pounce by yere or more, and is not able to do any thing for his Prynce, for himselfe, nor for his children, or geue a cup of drincke to the pore. Thus al the enhanfinge and rearing goth to your priuate commoditie and wealth. So that where ye had a single to much, you haue that: and fyns the fame, ye haue enhansed the rente, and so haue encreased an other to much. So now ye haue doble to muche, whyche is to to much. But let the preacher preach til his tong be worne to the stompes, nothing is amended. We haue good statutes made for the commen welth as touching comeners, enclofers, many metinges and Sessions, but in the end of the matter their commeth nothing forth. Wel, well, thys is one thyng I wyll faye vnto you, from whens it commeth I knowe, euen, from the deuill. I knowe his intent in it. For if ye bryng it to passe, that the yomanry be not able to put their sonnes to schole (as in dede vniuersities do wonderously decaye all redy) and that they be not able to mary their daughters to the auoidyng of whoredome, I faye ye plucke saluation from the people and vtterly distroy the realme. For by yomans sonnes, the fayth of Christ is, and hath bene mayntained chefely. Is this realme taught by rich mens sonnes. No no, reade.

No preaching
can heale
thys euil.

Many statu-
tes but smale
helpe.

The deuill is
the auctoure
of to muche.

To decaye of
learnynge
and puritie of
lyfe.

Saluacion
resteth in them.

Yomens son-
nes be tea-
chers of god.

the Cronicles ye shall fynde sumtime noble mennes
 fonnes, which haue bene vnpreaching byshoppes and
 A notable prelates, but ye, shall finde none of them
 thyng. learned men. But verilye, they that
 shoulde loke to the redresse of these thinges, be the
 greatest against them. In thys realme are a great
 meany of folkes, and amongest many, I knowe but one
 of tender zeale. at the mocion of his poore tennauntes,
 hath let downe his landes to the olde rentes for their
 reliefe. For goddes loue, let not him be a Phenix, let
 him not be alone, Let hym not be an Hermite closed
 in a wall, sum good man follow him and do as he
 geueth example. Surueiers there be, yat
 Surueiers be handma- gredyly gorge vp their couetouse, guttes
 be handma- hande makers, I meane (honest men I
 kers. touch not) but al suche as suruei thei make vp their
 mouthes but the commens be vtterlye vndone by them.
 The crye of Whose bitter cry ascendyng vp to the
 the poore. eares of the god of Sabaoth, the gredy
 pyt of hel burning fire (without great repentaunce)
 do tary and loke for them. A redresse God graunt.
 For fuerly, fuerly, but yat ii. thynges do comfort me I
 wold despaire of the redresse in these maters. One is,
 that the kinges maiestie whan he commeth to age:
 wyll se a redresse of these thinges so out of frame.
 Geuing example by letting doune his owne landes first
 and then enioyne hys subiectes to folowe him. The
 second hope I haue is, I beleue that the general ac-
 comptyng daye is at hande, the dreadfull day of iudge-
 ment I meane, whiche shall make an end of al these
 calamities and miseris. For as the scryptures be
*Cum dixerint pax pax,** When they shal say peace, peace:
Omnia tuta, all thynges are sure: Then is the day at
 hand, a mery day I saye, for al such as do in this
 worlde studye to serue and please god and continue in
 his fayth, feare and loue: and a dreadful, horrible day
 for them that decline from God walking in ther owne
 wayes, to whom as it is wrytten in the. xxv of

* Saying, Peace, peace; when *there* is no peace.—Jer. vi. 14.

Mathew is sayd : *Ite maledicti in ignem eternum.** Go ye cursed into euerlastyng punishment. Wher shalbe waylinge and gnashing of teeth. But vnto ye other he shal saye : *Venite benedicti.*† come ye blessed chyldren of my father, possesse ye the kyngdome prepared for you from the beginninge of the worlde, of the which god make vs al partakers.
Amen.

The rewarde
of wycked
men.

The blesse of
the godly.

* Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.—Matt. xxv. 41.

† Come, ye blessed of my Father.—ver. 34.

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dwellynge at Aldersgate, and
William Seres, dwelling in Peter
Colledge. These booke are to be
sold at the new shop by the
lytle Conduyte in
Chepesyde.

¶ Cum gratia et Privilegio ad
imprimendum solum.

The seconde

Sermon of Master

Hughe Latemer,

whych he prea-

ched before the

Kynges ma-

iestie, within

hys grac-

ces Palayce at

Westminster

ye. xv day of

Marche.

M. cccc. xlix.

Cum gracia et priuilegio ad
imprimendum solum.

To the Reader.



VEN as in tymes past, al men which were honestly bent to the promotinge of vertue and learnynge, found meanes, that the workes of worthy oratours, of famous and renoumed Philosophers, shold be by ye benefit, of publyshing redemed from the tyranye of obliuion to the great and hygh profyte of cuntryes, of common wealthes, of empyres, and of assemblies of men: lykewyse oughte we to fetche our presydente from those men, and suffre no worthi monument to perish, wherby any good may grow, either to the more godly admynistration of polytyke and cyuyl affayres, or elles to the better establyshyng of christian iudgement. Numa Pompilus, who was inaugured and created king [of] the Romaynes next after Romulus, was far more careful and busier in groundyng of Idolatrus religion, as vpon rytes, ceremonies, sacrifices and supersticions, then we are in promotyng of christian religion, to the aduancement of the glorye, due, to the omnipotent maiestie of God hymselfe, who hath reuealed and vttered hys worde vnto vs by hys Prophetes, and last of all, by hys onely begotten sonne Iesus Christ wherby he hath confyrmred our consciences in a more perfect certentie of the truth, then euer they were before. This Numa instituted an Archbyshop for the preferuyng of the Commentaries, contaynyng the solemnities of their religion wyth manye other appendixes, vnited to the office of the high bishoppe. What do we? We haue suppressed. We haue wraстled with fyre, and sword, not onely to deface the wrytynges of such learned men as haue paynefully traueiled to publysh Gods word: but also we haue sturred euery stone, and sought al deuclish deuises, to deteine yat same word of god it selfe from his people.

May not we (and not vnwortheli) be accompted far vnder ye Ethenickes, who wrought onely by naturall mocion and anticipations, wythout breathyng and inspyryng of the holy gost, if we woulde not (I meane not be equall wyth them) but be farre more zelous in promotyng good learnyng and religion then euer they were. Thei, when they had suche noble and worthy clearkes (as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle) with al diligence, caused ye frutes of those most rare and profound wyttes, to be preferued for their posteritie, that the eyes of al generations myght enioye the fruicion and vse of them, thinking that such wonderful vertues shuld not be buried in the same graue that their bodyes were. After so manifold and daungerous shyp wrackes of religion, as in oure tymes we may well remember, wheras the ambitious and blynde prelates (some of wyly wilfulnes, some of grose ignoraunce) ruleth the sterne and euermore blemished the true knowledge of Goddes worde, and dyd theyr indeuoure to obscure the same wyth their politycke and decente ceremonies and trompery of supersticions, how oft hath religion bene tost on the stormy fourgis and daungerous rockes of the Romysh seas? Howe oft hath it bene in such a desperate state, that the true mynysters haue bene inforced (as you woulde say) to hoyse vp ancker (the tackling of the shyp beyng broken) and destytute of all other helpe and succoures, to geue ouer the rulyng of the shyppe to God hymselfe, who is only able to faue, when al the world by mannes reason iudgeth it past cure. Such O Lorde is thy mercie and ineffable power, what cristen hert yat fauoureth the glory of God, did not euen lament and bewaile the state of religion, and thought verely the vtter ruine of Christes church to be at hand, seing the late martyrdome of those that suffered? Yet didest thou lord sturre vp thousandes out of their ashes, and what was done of a popysh polycye to suppress and kepe vnder thy truth, that, of al other, dyd most set fourth the same. Thou hast deliuered Danyel out of the denne of the lionnes, and he.

hath set fourth thy worde abroade. But now countreemen, whom God hath blessed by deliueyinge you from the tirranny of the lions and her whelpes, (which went thorow the whole realme sucking the innocent bloude) how vnthanckfull are you vnto God so greatlye neglectyng so specyall a benefyte, fallyng into such a lousenes of lacyuyouse lyuing as the lyke hath neuer bene hard of hereto fore. Euen as ye are growne to a perfeccion in knowledge, so are ye come to a perfeccyon in al mischyeffe. The Heathen, whyche had no other gyde but the law of nature, grauen in the tables of their hart, were neuer so poisoned with the contagion of most horryble heresies, as some of vs Christians which are not ashamed to brag and boste of the spirite. But it is a phanaticke spirite, a brainicke spirite a sedicious and a malignante spirite. Christ breath his spirite vpon you yat ye may rede ye scriptur with al humblenes and reuerence, to fetch from thence comforte for youre wounded consciences, not to make that lyuely fountayne of lyfe to serue for the fedyng of your idle braines, to dyspute more subtellye thereby, or else by myfunderstandyng of the same to consciue pernicious and annabaptistical opinions. Remember that the seruaunte whiche knoweth hys maysters wyll and doeth it not, shalbe beaten wyth many strypes. God is a good God, a merciful God a father whych beareth muche wyth oure coked nature and vnchristian behaiour, and very sloth to reuenge hys blasphemie this maintenance of so many vnscripterlye opinions, these brablynges and scismaticke contencions wherin a great packe of vs delyte and repose our glory, al though as fondly, as eronioufly, to ye great sclaunder of the godly learned, and also to the hynderaunce of the good succeffe and fre passage of the word of God. But as truly as god is God if we repent not shortly, his plages and vengauce are not far of, hys indignacyon and wrathe shall be poured from heauen vpon our vngodlynes. He is long a commyng but when he comes he wil paye whome and (as Lactancius sayeth)

recompence his long sufferance wyth greuous repunishments. The world and the deuel hath bewitched vs that we in our dedes (I feare me to manye of vs) deny God to be God whatfoeuer we pittle pattle with our tonges. Gods word must not be talcked of only, for that is not inough. It must be expressed. Then must we as wel liue the worde as talke the worde, or else, if good lyfe do not infue and folow vpon our readyng to the example of other, we myghte as well spende that tyme in reading of prophane hystories, of cantor-burye tales, or a fit of Roben Hode Let vs ioyne good lyfe wyth our readyng, and yet al wylbe to lytle. Remembre that the worlde and al that is in it, is mere vanitie, and shall haue an ende. Thou I say, yat thus abusest the gyfte of Godes holy word, and the gratiounes of the Kynges maiestie, which hath lycensed the to rede the same, for the comfort of thyne owne soule, for the instructing of thi famyly, the education of thy chyl dren, and edefying of thy neyghbour. Thou that art so gorgyously apparelled, and feadeth thy corruptible carkasse so dayntely, thou that purchasest so fast, to the vtter vndoing of the poore, confyder wherof thou camest, and wherunto thou shal returne. Where is then all thy pompe? wher is all thy ruffe of thy gloriounes become? What wylt thou say for thy selfe in that horrible daye of iudgment, wher thou shalt stand naked before God, where the tables of thine owne conscyence shalbe opened and layed before thyne eies to accuse the. Thou which reysest the rentes so greedely as thoughe thou shouldest neuer haue inough. Thy iudgemente is, throw miserable mammon, so captuuate and blinded, that you canst not tel when you hast inough, or what is inough? Truly, a litle is to much for him yat knowes not how to vse much well. Therefore learne fyrst the vse of monei and riches, and some other honeste meanes to attayne them, that thys thyne infacioble couetounes and vnlawful desyryng of other mens goodes, maye be reduced to some reasonable measure,

and that it do not excede the lymyttes or compasse of honestie, and the bondes of brotherly loue, lest God (before whom thou shalt appere one day, to rendre a frayght accomptes, for the dedes done in thy flesh) burden and charge the wyth thy vnmerciful handling of thy Tennant (but yet notwythstandyng thy brother) whom, wyth newe Incomes, fynes, inhauncyng of rentes, and such lyke vnreasonable exactions, thou pilles, polles, and miserablie oppresses. When that terrible day shall once come, a lytle of Gods mercye wyll be worth a masse or a whole h[er]pe of thy monei. Ther thy wicked Mammon, whom thou serueste lyke a slaue can purchase the no mercy. There thy money so gleaned and gathered of the and thyne (to the impoueryshment of many to make the only ryche) can not preuayle the, nor yet redeme thy cause before that iuste and seuerer iudge, which then, and ther, wil render to ye, the selfe same measure yat you measureste to other men? What dyd we speake of preuaylyng, or redeming of thy cause with monei. Nay then thy monei, and the roust of thy gold shal be a wytnes against ye and shal eat thy fleshe as the fyre. Howe frantycke and folysh myght al wyse men, wel iudge and deme him to be, which agaynste the daye of hys araignement (when he should stand vpon the tryall of death and lyfe) woulde busy him self, his folkes, and his frendes, to prepare and get many wytnesses agaynste him to cast him awaye by theyr euidence and witnes: and to prouide suche menne as shoulde be the onely cause of hys death. Euen. So frantycke, and so folysh art thou which doth toyle, trauayle, and turmoyle so earnestly and busylye aboute the gettinge of goodes and rytches, before thou hast well learned and taken furth of the lesson, of well vsyng the same. Howbeit, truelye I doute much of the well vsyng of yat, whych Prouerb. xix. was neuer well nor truely gotten. Learne therefore first, to know what is inough. For the wyseman sayth, it is better to haue a lytle with the fear

of the Lorde, then great and infaciabie rytches. Sophonye saythe their golde shall not be able to delyuer them in the day of the Lordes wrath. Sophoni. i. [Zephaniah i. 18.] Let your conuerfacion be without couetoufnes, and be content with that ye haue alredi Godlines is a great ryches, if a man be content wyth fuche as God fendes. For we brought i. Timoth. vii nothyng into thys world, neither shal we carry anye thyng out. When we haue foode and rayment, let vs therwyth be content. Behold, thy Scholemaster Paule teaches the here a good leffon. Here thou mayft learne wel inough, to know what is inough. But lest thou shouldest feare at any time, the want or lacke of thys inoughe. Here farther the rest of thy leffon. For god verely sayth. The Lorde is myne helper, I wyll not fere what man doeth to me. If the Reuenues and yerely Rentes of thy patrymony and landes, be not inough, nor sufficient for thi fyndyng, and wyl not suffice thy charges, then moderate thyne expences, borrow of thy two next neighbours, that is to say, of thy backe and thi belly, Learne to eat within thy teather. Pul downe thy fayle. Saye downe proud hert. Mayntayn no greater port, then thou art able to bear out and support of thyne owne prouifion. Put thy hand no further then thy fleue will reache. Cut thy cloth after the mesure. Kepe thy house after the spendyng. Thou must not pil an[d] powle the Tenant, that thou mayest haue (as they sai) *vnde*, and that thy neuer inough to rufful it out in a riatous ruffe and a prodigal, disolute, and lifenciouse liuing. We rede in the scripture, geue to euery manne his dutye, tribute, to whom tribute belongeth, custome to whom Custome, is due. Feare to whom Feare belongeth, honoure to whom honoure partayneth. But we finde not there, nor elles where, fynes to whom fynes, incomes to whome incomes. Paul was not a quainted with none of those termes. Belyke they wer not vsed and commen vp in his time, or else he wold haue made mencion of them. Yeat

not withstanding, we deny not but these reasonable required and vpon honest couenantes and contractes, are more tollerable, and so vsed, so maye be permitted. But the couenantes and the contractes we remitte to the godly wyldome of the hie magistrates, who (we pray god) may take such order and direction in this, and al other, yat the commen people may be relyued and eased of, many importable charges and iniuries, which many of them, contrary to al equitye and ryght, sustaine. But wo worth this couetousnesse, not without skylle called the rote of all, euyl. If couetousnes were not, we thincke many things amisse, should shortelye be redressed. She is a mighty Matrone a Lady of great power. She hath reteyned moo seruauntes then any Lady hath in Englande. But marke how well in fyne, She hath rewarded her seruantes, and lerne to be wyfe by another mans harme. Acham by the commaundement of God, was stoned to death, because he toke of the excommunicate goodes. Saul moued wyth couetousnes disobeied goddes worde, reseruinge the King, Agag and a parssell of the fatteste of the cattie, and lost hys kyngdome therby. Gehize was strycken wyth leaprofy and all hys posteritie, because he toke money and rayment, of Naaman. The rich and vnmerciful gloton, whych fared well and depntely euery day, was buried in hel, and there he taketh nowe such fare as the deuyl hymself doth. Woo be to you, that ioyne house to house, and feeelde to feeld, shall ye alone inhabyte the yearth. Let these terrible examples suffyce at thys preasent, to teach, and admonysh, the inhaunser of Rentes, the vnresonable exactour and gredye requirer of fines and incomes, the couetouse lease monger, the deuourer of townes and contries as M. Latimer tearmeth them rightly. If these scriptures (with yat which thei may rede in these godly sermones) do not pearse their stony hertes (we feare) more wil not serue. The Lord be mercyful to them. But nowe to the wycked Iudge, which corruptes iustyce

for Brybes. Here he may learne also the lesson that Moses taught long before thys time, be maiestrates and Iudges in the common wealth of Iosue. vii. Ifraell. Be no acceptor of personnes neyther be desirous of giftes, for they make wise men blinde, and chaunge the mynde of the ryghtuouse. In iudgement be merciful to the fatherles as a father, and be in stead of an husband vn[to] theyr mother. The vngodly taketh giftes oute of the bosome, to wraft the wayes of iudgement. Let hym that rules be dylygent sayth Paul. What meaneth he bi this terme, diligent? He requyres no such diligence as the most part of our lucratiue lawyers do vse, in deferryng and prolongyng of matters, and accions from Terme to Terme, and in the tractyng of tyme in the same. Wher perchance the tittle or the ryght of the matter myght haue come to lyght, and bene tryed long before. If the Lawyers and the Iudges would haue vsed such diligence as Paule would haue them to do.

But what care ye lawyers for Paul? Paul was but a mad man of lawe to controlle them for their diligence. Paul, yea and Peter to, coulde better skil of mending of an olde net, of clouting of an old tent, then to teach lawiers what dyligence they should vse in the expedicion, of matters. Whi? but be not lawiers diligent say ye? Yea truly are thei and to diligent to for some mens profytes. And about their own profit ther are no more diligenter men nor busier persons in al England they trudge in ye tearme time to and fro. The[y] applye the world harde. They for slow no tyme. Thei follow Sifes and Sessions, Letes, Lawdays and Hundredes, they shold serue the kyng, but thei serue them selues. And howe thei vse, nay rather abuse, their office in the same, some good manne wyll tell them thereof. We lacke a fewe moo Latymers, a fewe moo suche Preachers. Such playn Pasquyls, we pray God prouide for vs, that kepeth nothing backe. Of the whych fort and numbere, we



i. To the Kinges. xv.

Ecclesiastical xiiiij.

Prouer. xvii.

may most worthely reckon this faythful mynister of God, and constant Preacher of his word Master Hugh Latimer, which by hys perfeueraunce and stedfastnes in the truth hath stablyshed this waueryng world. He hath bene toft for the truthes sake, and tried with the stormes of perfecution, as golde in the fornace. He is one, whom, as well for hys learned, founde, and chatholyke iudgement, in the knoweledge of Gods worde, as for his integretie and example of christian conuerfation, all we and (specially mynisters and prelates) ought to fet before our eyes, as a pryncipall patrone to imytate and follow, desyryng God, who hathe styrred vp in him, the bold spirite of Helias, maye dayly more and more augment the fame in hym, and may also prouide many such preaching prelates, which both so wel could, and so willingly wold franckely vtter ye trueth, to the extollinge of vertue, the rewarde of well doers, the suppressing of vice, the abolishment of all papestrie. It is oure parte therefore to praye diligently for his continual health and that he may liue longe amonge vs in a flourishing old age, and not (as some in grate in humaine persons) to maligne and depraue him for yat he so frankely and liberallye taxed perstringed and openly rebuked before the Kinges Magestie ye peculiar fauts of certayne of his auditours, but it is oure part, rather thankfully to accept and in good part take his godly aduertisment, onles we be mynded to prefer oure muckye monie and false felicitie before the ioyse of heauen, or els beleue (as ye Epecurus do) that after this life ther is neither hel nor heauen. Receiue thankfully (gentle reader these sermons faithfullie colected) without al sijnister suspicion of anye thyng in the same added or adempte .:

Finis.

 The. xxi. day of Iune. 

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The seconde sermon



*Væcunq̄ scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam. etc.** · All thinges yat are written in Gods boke, in the holye Byble, they were wrytten before oure tyme, but yet to continue from age to age as long as the worlde doeth stand.

In thys Boke is containyd doctrine for al estates, euen for kynges. A kynge herein maye learne how to gyde hymselfe, I tolde you in my laste sermon muche of the dutye of a kyng. And ther is one place behynd yet, and it foloweth in ye texte. *Postquam autem sederit in folio regni sui, et cete.†* And when the kyng is sette in the feate of hys kyngdome, he shall wryte hym out a boke and take a copy of ye priestes or Leuites. He shall haue the boke wyth hym, and why? to reade in it all the dayes of hys lyfe, to learne to feare God, and learne hys Lawes and other thynges, as it foloweth in the texte wyth the appurtenaunces and hangynges on, that he turne not frome God, neyther to the ryght hande, nor to the lefte. And wherfore shal he do thys? that he may lyue longe, he and hys children. Hytherto goeth the texte. That I maye declare thys the better to the edifynge of youre soules and the glory of God, I shall desyre you to praye etc.

Et pos[t]quam sederit. etc. Before I enter into thys

* Rom. xv. 4.

† And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of *that which is* before the priests the Levites :

And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life : that he may learn to fear the

LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them :

That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, *to* the right hand, or *to* the left : to the end that he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.—Deut. xvi. 18—20.

place (right honourable audience) to furnyſh it accordyngly, whych by the grace of god I ſhal do at leyfure, I woulde repete the place I was in laſt, and furnyſhe it wyth a ſtory or two whyche I lefte oute in my laſt fermon. I was in a matter concerning the ſturdines of the Iewes, a frowarde and ſtyfnecked kynde of people, much lyke oure Englyſhe men nowe a dayes, that in the minoritye of a Kyng, take vpon them to breke lawes and to go by wayes. For when god had promiſed them a kyng, when it came to point they refuſed hym. Theſe men walked by walkes, and the faynge is many biwalkes, many balkes, manye balkes muche ſtumblynge, and where muche ſtumblynge is, there is ſometyme a fal, howbeit ther were ſome good walkers among them, that walked in ye kynges highe waye ordinarilye, vp-rightlye, playne Dunſtable waye, and for thys purpoſe, I woulde ſhewe you an hyſtorye whiche is written in the thyrde of the kynges.*

Kyng Dauid beyng in his chyl dhode, an old man, in hys ſecond chyl dhode, for all old men are twiſe chyl dren, as the Prouerb is. *Senex bis puer*. An olde manne, twiſe a chyl d, it happened wyth him, as it doth oftentymes, when wicked men, of a Kinges chyl dhode take occaſion of euyl.

Thys Kyng Dauid beyng weake of nature and impotente, in ſo muche that when he was couered with clothes, he coulde take no heate, was counſayled of hys ſeruauntes to take a fayre yonge mayde to nouriſhe hym, and to keepe hym warme in hys bodye, I ſuppoſe ſhe was hys wyfe. Howe be it he hadde no bodilye companie wyth hyr, and wel ſhe myghte be hys wyfe. For thoughe the ſcripture doeth ſaye. *Non cognouit eam*. He knewe hyr not, he had no carnal copulation with hyr yet it ſayeth not. *Non duxit eam Vxorem*. He married hyr not. And I canne not thynke that king Dauid woulde haue hyr too warme hys boſome in Bedde, excepte ſhee hadde

* 1 Kings, i. and ii. chapts.

bene hys wyfe, hauynge a dispensation of God to haue as manye wyues as he woulde. For God had dispensed wyth them to haue manye wyues. Wel, what happened to kyng Daid in hys childehode, by ye chylde of the deuyll? Ye shall heare. Kynge Daid hadde a proud sonne, whose name was Adonyas, a man ful of ambition, desyerouse of honoure, alwayes clymbyng, climbynge. Nowe, whylfe the tyme was of his fathers childhode, he wold depose hys father, not knoweyng of hys fathers mynd, faiyng. *Ego regnabo.* I wil raigne, I wyll be kyng, he was a stoute stomaked chylde, a biwalker, of an ambitious mynde, he wold not consente to hys fathers frendes, but gate hin a charet, and men to runne before it, and dyuerse other adherentes to helpe hym forwarde, worldelye wise men, such as had bene before of hys fathers counsaile, great men in the world, and some no doute of it, came of good wil thynkyng no harme, for they woulde not thynke that he did it wythoute hys fathers wyll, hauynge such greate men to set hym forth, for euery man cannot haue acceffe at al tymes to the kynge to knowe hys pleafure, well: algates he wold be Kynge, and makes a great feast, and thither he called Ioab the ryngleader of hys fathers armye, a worldly wyfe man, a bywalker, that wold not walke the Kynge's hye way, and one Abiather the hyghe prieste. For it is maruayle if any mischyefe be in hand, if a priest be not at some ende of it, they toke hym as Kynge, and cried, *Vivat rex Adonias.* God saue kynge Adonias. Daid suffered all thys, and lette hym alone, for he was in hys chyldehode a bedred man.

But se howe God ordered the matter, Nathan the Prophete and Sadoc a prieste, and Banaya, and Crethytes, and Phelethyts the Kynge's gard, they were not called to the feast.

These were good men, and woulde not walke bywayes, therefore it was soly to breake the matter to them, they were not called to counsell.

Therefore Nathan when he hearde of thys, he commeth to Bethsabe Salomons mother and fayeth. Heare ye not howe Adonias the sonne of Ageth, rayneth kynge, Daudid not knowinge? And he bad hyr put the kynge in mynde of hys oth that he sware that hyr sonne Salomon should be kinge after hym, thys was wise counfayle accordyng to the Prouerbe. *Qui Vadit plane, uadit fane.*

He that walketh in the hie playne waye, walketh safelye. Vpon thys she wente and brake the matter to Daudid, and desiered hym to shewe who shold raynge after hym in Hierusalem, addinge that if Adonias were kynge, she and hyr sonne after hys death shoulde be destroyed, faiyng. *Nos erimus peccatores.* We shalbe finners, we shalbe taken for traytors, for though we ment no harme but walked vprightly yet bicause we went not the byway with hym, he beyng in authoritie wyl destroy vs. And by and by cometh in Nathan, and taketh hyr tale by the ende, and sheweth him how Adonias was saluted kynge and that he hadde byd to diner the Kynges seruantes, al fauyng hym and Sadoc, and Banaia and al hys brethren the kings sonnes faue Salomon. Kynge Daudid remembryng hym felfe swore, as sure as God lyueth, Salomon my son shall raygne after me, and by and by commaunded Nathan and Sadoc and hys garde the Cerethes and Philites, to take Salomon hys sonne and fette hym vpon hys mule, and anoynt hym Kyng, and so they dyd, cryng, *Viuat Salomon Rex.* Thus was Salomon throned, by the aduise and wyl of hys father, and thoughe he were a chylde, yet was his wyl to be obeyed and fulfilled, and they ought to haue knowen hys pleasure. Whylse this was a doing there was fuche a Ioye and outcrye of the people for theyr newe Kynge, and blowyng of trumpetes, yat Ioab and the other company beyng in theyr iolitye, and kepyng good cheare: herde it, and sodaynlye asked what is thys ado? And when they perceiued yat Salomon by ye aduise of hys father was annoynted

Kyng, by and by ther was all whyfht, all theyr good chere was done, and al yat were wyth Adonias wente away, and lette hym raygne alone, if he woulde, and whye? He walked a bywaye and God would not prospere it.

God wyll not worcke wyth priuate authoritie, nor wyth anye thinge done inordinatlye. When Adonias saw this that he was left alone, he toke sanctuary, and held by the hornes of the aultare and fware that he woulde not departe thence, tyll Salomon would sweare that he shoulde not leafe hys life. Here is to be noted the notable sentence, and greate mercy of Kynge Salomon.

Lette hym fayeth he order hym felse lyke a quiete manne and there shall not one heere fall from hys head.

*Sed si inuentum fuerit malum in eo.**

But if there shall be any euyll found in hym if he hath gone aboute anye mischyefe, he shall dye for it. Vpon thys he was broughte into Salomon, and as the boke fayeth, he dyd homage vnto hym, and Salomon fayd to hym. *Vade in domum tuam.†*

Gette the into thy house, bilyke he meante to warde, and ther to se hys wearynge, as if he shoulde faye, shewe thyfelse wythoute gall of ambition, to be a quiet subiecte, and I wyll pardon the for thys tyme. But I wyll se the wearynge of the.

Here wee maye se the wonderfull great mercye of Salomon for thys notorious treafon, yat Adonias had committed, it was a plaine matter, for he suffered hymfelse to be called kynge, it hung not of vehement suspition or coniecture nor sequel or consequent yet notwythstandynge Salomon for that present, forgauē hym, sayenge. I wyl not forget it vtterlye, but I wyll kepe it in suspense, I wyll take no aduantage of the at thys tyme. This Adonias and Absolon were brethren, and came boeth of a straung mother, and Absolon lykewyse was a traytour, and made an in-

* But if wickedness be found in him, he shall die.—1 Kings i. 52.

† Go to thine house.—ver. 53.

furrection agaynst hys father. Beware therefore these mothers and let kynges take hede howe they mary, in what houffes, in what fayeth. For strang bryngyng vp, bringeth straunge maners. Nowe geueth Dauid an exhortation to Salomon, and teacheth him the dutye of a Kynge, and geueth hym a lesson, as it foloweth at large in ye boke, and he that lyste to reade it, maye fe it ther at full. But what doeth Adonias all thys whyle? He must yet clymbe agayne, ye gal of ambition was not out of his hert. He wil now mary Abifaas the yonge quene that warmed king Dauids bosome, as I told you, and commeth me to Bersaba, desyering hyr to be a meane to Salamon hyr sonne that he myght obtayne hys purpose. And bryngeth me out a couple of lyes at a clappe, and committeth me two vnlawfull actes. For fyrste he would haue bene Kynge wythoute hys fathers consente, and now he wyl mary his fathers wife, and the. ii. lyes are these. Fyrste, sayed he to Bersabe, thou knowest that the Kyngedome belongeth to me, for I am the elder. The kyngedome was myne, he lyed falsely it was none of his. Then sayed he all the eyes of Israel were caste vpon me, that is to faye, all Israel consented to it, and there he lyed falsely. For Nathan, Sadoc, and other wyse men, neuer agreed to it. Here was a greate enterpryce of Adonias, he wyl be climbing styll. Well Bersabe wente at hys requeste to hyr sonne Salomon, and asked a boune, and he graunted hyr what so euer she did aske. Notwithstanding he brake his promise afterward and that right well, for all promises are not to be kept, specialllye if they be agaynste the worde of God. Or not standyng with a commune profit, and therefore as sone as Salomon heard yat Adonias would haue maryed the yonge quene Abifaak: naye then let hym be kynge to: sayed he. I perceyue now that he is a naughty man, a proude herted fellow, the gal of ambition is not yet out of his herte, and so commaunded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonias put to execution, wher as if he had kepte

hys house and not broken hys iniunction, he myght haue lyued still. Abiathar, what became of him. The king (because he had serued his father before him) woulde not put him to deth, but made him as it were a quondam. Bicause thou hast bene with mi father saied he, and didest cary the arke before hym I wyl not kyl the.

But I wyll promyse the thou shalte neuer minister anye more. *Vade in agrum tuum?* * Get the to thy lande, and lyue there. A greate matter of pity and compassion, so God graunt vs al, such mercy. And here was the ende of Elis stocke, accordyng to the promise and threatening of God. As for the Phelethites we do not read yat they were punyshed. Mary Semei traunsgressed his Iniunction for he kepte not hys house, but wente oute of Hierusalem to seke two seruauntes of hys yat had runne from hym, and when it came to Salomons eare, it coste hym hys life. I haue ript the matter nowe to the pyll, and haue tolde you of playne walkers, and of biwalkers, and how a kynge in hys childehode is a kynge, as wel, as in any other age. We reade in scripture of suche as were but. xii. or. viii. yeares olde, and yet the worde of the holy Gooſte called them kynges, sayinge. *Cepit Regnare.* He began to raygne, or he began to be kynge. Here is of bywalkers. Thys hyſtorye would be remembred, the Prouerbe is.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Happy is he that can beware by an other mans ieoperdy. For if we offende not as other do, it is not oure owne desertes.

If we fal not, it is Goddes preferuation. We are all offenders For other we maye do, or haue done, or shall do (excepte God preferue vs) as euyll as the worſte of them. I pray God we maye all amende and repente. But we wyll all amende nowe I truſte. We muſtes neades amende our lyues euerye man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receyue it vnworthelye.

* Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields.—1 Kings i. 26.

Wel, to returne to my history. Kynges Daudid I say was a kyng in his second childhode. And so, yonge kynges though they be chylde, yet are they kynges notwithstandyng, and thoughte it be wrytten in scripture. *Væ tibi O terra ubi puer est rex.** Wo to the, O Lande, where ye king is a chylde: if foloweth in an other place. *Beata terra ubi rex nobilis.*† Blessed is the Lande, where there is a noble kyng. Where Kynges be no banketers, no players, and they spend not the tyme in haukyng and huntynge.

And when hadde the kynges maiestye a Councill that toke more payne boeth night and day for the fetyng forthe of Gods word, and profit of the commune wealth. And yet there be some wycked people that wyll faye.

Tufte, thys geare wyll not tarye, it is but my Lorde Protectours, and my Lorde of Canterburies doynge. The Kinge is a child, he knoweth not of it.

Iesu mercy, how lyke are we Englyshe men to the Iewes, euer stubburne, styfnecked, and walkynge of bye wayes. Yea I thynke no Iewe woulde at any tyme faye. This geare wil not tary. I neuer hearde nor read at any time yat they fayed.

These lawes were made in such a kynges dayes, when he was but a chylde. Let vs alter them. O Lorde what pitye is thys that we shoulde be worffe then the Iewes?

Blessed be the lande faith the worde of God, wher the Kyng is noble. What people are they that faye. The kyng is but a chylde? Haue not wee a noble Kyng? Was there euer Kyng so noble? So Godlye? broughte vp wyth so noble counsaylours? so excellent and well learned Scholemaisters? I wyll tell you thys, and I speake it euen as I thynke. Hys maiestye hath more Godlye wytte and vnderstandyng, more lernynge and knowledge at thys age, then. xx. of hys

* Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.—Eccles. x. 16.

† Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles.—Eccles. x. 17.

progenitors that I coulde name had at anye tyme of theyr lyfe.

I tolde you in my laste fermon of ministers of the kinges people and had occation to shewe you howe few noble men were good preachers, and I left out an hyfstory then whyche I wyl nowe tell you.

There was a byshop of Winchester in Kyng Henry the. vi. dayes, whyche kynge was but a chylde, and yet were there manye good Actes made in hys childehode, and I do not read that they were broken.

Thys byshoppe was a great man borne, and did beare such a stroke, that he was able to shoulder the Lord Protector. Well, it chanced yat the Lorde Protectoure and he fell out, and the byshoppe would beare nothyng at all wyth hym, but played me the *Satrapa*, so that the regente of Fraunce was faine to be sent for from beyond the Seas to fet them at one, and to go betwene them.

For the byshoppe was as able and readye to buccle wyth the Lorde Protectoure, as he was wyth hym.

Was not this a good prelate? he should haue bene at home a preachynge in hys Dioces in a wanian. Thys Protector was so noble and Godly a man, that he was called of euerye man the good Duke Humfrey. He kept suche a houffe as neuer was kept fence in Englande, wythout any enhaunfing of rentes I warrant you, or any such matter. And the byshop for standing so styflye by the matter, and bearynge vp the order of our mother ye holie church, was made Cardinall at Calice, and thyther the byshop of Rome sent hym a cardinals hatte, he shold haue had a Tiburne tippet, a halpeny halter, and all suche proude prelates. These Romish hertes [hats?] neuer broughte good into Englande.

Vpon thys the bishop goeth me to the quene Katherin the kinges wife, a proud woman and a stout, and perswaded hir that if ye duke were in such authoritie styl, and lyued, ye people wold honor him more then they dyd the king. And ye king should

not be fet by, and so betwen them, I can not tel how it came to pas, but at S. Edmundes bury in a parliment the good Duke Humfrey was smothered.

But nowe to returne to my texte, and to make further rehearfall of ye same, the matter beginneth this. *Et pos[t]quam federit rex** And when the kyng is fette in the feate of hys Kyngedome, what shal he do? shal he daunce, and dally, banket? hauke and hunte? No forsothe fyr. For as God fet an order in the Kyngs stable as I tolde you in my last Sermon, so wyll he appoynte what pastyme a Kyng shall haue. What must he do then? He muste be a student. He must wryte Goddes boke hym felse. Not thynkyng bycause he is a kyng, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as these worldlye flatterers are wont to say. Yea, trouble not your self fir, ye mai hauke and hunt, and take youre pleasure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

These flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all mischyue, and yet a Kyng maye take hys pastyme in haukinge or huntyng or such lyke pleasures. But he muste vse them for recreation when he is wery of waighty affayres, that he mai returne to them the more lustye. and this is called pastime with good companye. He must write out a boke hym felse. He speaketh of wrytyng bicause printyng was not vsed at yat tyme.

And shall the Kyng wryte it out hym felse? He meaneth he 'shal se it wrytten, and rather then he 'shoulde be without it, wryte it hym felse.'

Iesus mercy, is God so chary wyth a kyng to haue hym wel brought vp and instructed? Yea forsoth. For if the kyng be well ordered, the realme is wel ordered. Where shall he haue a copy of thys boke? of the Leuits. And why? Bicause it shal be a true cople, not falsified.

Moyfes lefte the boke in an olde cheste, and the Leuites had it in kepyng. And bycause ther should

* And . . . when he sitteth, &c.—Deut xvii. 18: see text at p. 55.

be no errour, no addition, nor takynge away from it, he byddeth hym fetch the copy of the Leuites. And was not here a greate miracle of God, how this boke was preferued? It had layne hyd many yeres and the Iewes knew not of it.

Therefore at lengthe when they had found it and knew it: they lamented for theyr ignoraunce, that had so long bene wythoute it, and rente theyr clothes, repentyng theyr vnfaythfulnes, and so ye holye byble Goddes boke, that we haue among vs, it hathe bene preferued hytherto by a wonderful miracle of God (though the keepers of it were neuer so malitiouse) firste euer sythe the byshop of Rome was firste in authoritye, they haue gone about to destroy it, but God worketh wonderfully, he hathe preferued it maugre theyr beardes, and yet are we vnthankfull that we cannot confider it. I wil tel you, what a byshoppe of thys realme sayed once to me, he sent for me and merueyled that I woulde not consente to suche traditions, as were then sette out.

And I answered hym that I woulde be ruled by Gods boke and rather then I woulde dissent one iote from it I woulde be torne wyth wyld horffes.

And I chaunced in our communication to name the Lordes supper? Tushe sayeth the Byshop. What do ye call the Lordes supper? What newe terme is that? There stode by hym a dubber, one Doctour Dubber he dubbed hym by and by and sayed that this terme was feldome rede in the doctours.

And I made answer, yat I wold rather folowe Paule in vsyng hys termes then them though they hadde all the doctours on theyr fyde. Whye sayed the byshoppe, can not we wythoute scriptures order ye people? How dyd they before the scripture was fyrste wrytten and copied out? But God knoweth, ful yl. yet woulde they haue ordered them. For feyng that hauyng it, they haue deceyued vs in what case shold we haue bene nowe wythout it? But thanks be to God yat by so wonderful a miracle he hathe preferued ye boke

ſyll. It foloweth in the texte *Habebit ſecum etc.** He ſhal haue it with hym in hys progreſſe, he muſte haue a man to carry it, that when he is haukyng and huntynge or in any paſſtime, he maye alwayes commune with them of it. He ſhall reade in it not once a yeare, for a tyme, or for hys recreation when he is weary of haukyng or hunting but *Cunclis diebus vitæ ſuæ.†* All ye dayes of hys lyfe. Where are thoſe worldlynges now? Theſe bledder puffed vp wyllye men? Wo worth them that euer they were about any Kynge. But howe ſhall he read thys boke? as the Homilies are read. Some call them homlyes, and in dede ſo they maye be well called, for they are homely handeled.

For though the prieſtes reade them neuer ſo well, yet if the Paryſhe like them not, ther is ſuche talkynge and bablyng in the church, that nothyng can be heard, and if the pariſh be good, and the prieſt naught he wil ſo hacke it, and choppe it, that it were as good for them to be wythout it for any worde that ſhal be vnderſtande. And yet the more pitye. Thys is ſuffred of your graces byſhops in their dioces vnpuniſhed.

But I wyll be a futer to youre grace that ye wyll geue youre byſhoppes charge yer they go home, vpon theyr allegiaunce to loke better to theyr flocke, and to ſe your maieſties iniunctions better kepte, and fende youre viſitours in theyr tayles.

And if they be founde necligente or faulty in theyr duties oute with them. I require it in Gods behalfe, make them quondams all the packe of them. But peraduenture ye wil ſaye. Where ſhall we haue anye to put in theyr rouses.

In dede I were a preſumptuous fellow to moue your grace to put them oute, if there were not other to put in theyr places. But youre maieſtye hath diuers of youre chaplayns, well learned men, and of good

* And it ſhall be with him, &c —
Deut. xvii 19: ſee text at p. 55.

† All the days of his life.—*Idem*

knowledge, and yet ye haue some that be bad inough, hangers on of ye court. I meane not those. but if your maiesties chaplayns, and my Lorde Protectours be not able to furnishe theyr places, there is in thys realme, thankes be to God, a greate fyghte of laye men wel learned in the scriptures, and of vertuouse and Godly conuersation, better lerned then a greate fight of vs, of the cleargy.

I can name a numbere of them that are able and woulde be glad I dare say to minister ye function if they be called to it. I moue it of conscience to youre grace, lette them be called to it orderly, let them haue institution, and gyue them the name of ye cleargy. I meane not the name onlye, but lette theym, do the function of a byshop, and lyue of the same. Not as it is in many places, that one shoulde haue the name, and eyghte other the profytte.

For what an enormitie is this in a christian realme to serue in a ciuilitye, hauynge the profyt of a Prouestshyp and a Deanry, and a Personage.

But I wyll tell you what is lyke to come of it. It wyl bryng the cleary shortely into a very flauerye. I maye not forget here my *Scala caeli*, that I spoke of in my laste sermon. I wyll repete it now againe, desiering your grace in Goddes behalfe that ye wyll remembre it.

The Byshop of Rome had a *Scala caeli*, but his was a mas[s] matter. This *Scala caeli*, is the true ladder that bryngeth a manne to heauen, the toppe of the ladder or fyrst greese, is thys.

Who so euer calleth vpon the name of the Lorde, shall be faued. The seconde stepe. Howe shall they call vpon hym, in whom they haue no beleue.

The thyrd stayer is thys. How shal they beleue in hym of whom they neuer heard? The fourth stepe. Howe shall they heare wythout a preacher. Nowe the nether ende of the ladder is. Howe shall they preach, except they be sent. This is the fote of the ladder, so that we maye go backward now, and vse ye

schole argument. *A primo ad ultimum.* Take away preaching, take away saluation.

But I feare one thynge, and it is : left for a falsety of a little money, you wyll put in chauntrye Priestes, to faue theyr pentions.

But I wyll tell you, Christe boughte Soules wyth hys bloude, and wyll ye sell theym for golde or syluer.

I woulde not that ye should do wyth chauntrye priestes, as ye dyd wyth the Abbotes, when Abbeyes were put downe.

For when theyr enormities were fyrste read in ye parliment house, they were so greate and abhominable, that there was nothyng but downe with them. But within a whyle after, the same Abbottes were made byshops as there be some of them yet a lyue to faue and redeme theyr pentions. O Lorde, thinke ye, that God is a sole, and seeth it not, and if he se it, wyl he not punyshe it. And so nowe for falsety of money, I wold not yat ye should put in chauntry priestes, I speake not now against suche chauntry priestes as are able to preache, but those that are not able I wyll not haue them put in. For if ye do thys ye shall Answere for it.

It is in the text, that a king ought to feare god, he shal haue the dreade of God before hys eyes, worcke not by worldelye polycye, for worldly policie feareth not God.

Take hede of these claubacks, these venemouse people that wyll come to you, that wyll folowe lyke gnatoes and Parasites, if you folowe theym, you are oute of youre boke. If it be not accordynge to Gods worde that they counsayle you, do it not for any wordly policie, for then ye feare not God.

It foloweth in the texte. *Vt non eleuetur cor eius.** That he be not proude aboue hys brethern. A kynge muste not be proude, for God myght haue made hym a shepheard, when he made him a kyng, and done hym no wronge.

* That his heart be not lifted up above his brethern.— Deut. xvii. 19: see text at p. 55.

There be many examples of proude kynges in scripture.

As Pharao that woulde not heare the message of God. Herode also, yat put Iohn Baptist to death, and wolde not heare hym, he tolde hym that it was not lawefull for hym to marye hys brothers wyfe.

Ieroboam also was a proude kyng. An other kyng there was that worshipped straunge Gods and Idols, of those men whom he had ouercome before in battayle, and when a prophet tolde hym of it. What sayd he. Who made you one of my councel. These were proud kynges, theyr ensamples are not to be followed.

But wherefore shall a kyng feare God, and turne neyther to the ryght hande, nor to the left? Wherefore shall he do all thys? *Vt longo tempore regnet, ipse et filii eius.** That he may raigne long, he and hys chyl dren. Remembre thys I besech your grace. And when these flatterers, and flybbergybes an other daye shall come and clawe you by the backe and say.

Syr trouble not your selfe? What shold you study? Why shold you do this or that. Your grace maye answer them thus, and say. What Syrre, I perceyue you are wery of vs, and our posteritye. Doeth not God sai in such a place. That a king shold wryt oute a boke of Gods lawe, and reade it? learne to feare God. And whye? That he and his, might raygne long, I perceyue nowe thou arte a traytoure.

Tell hym thys tale once, and I warrant you he wyll come no more to you, neyther he, nor any other after such a forte.

And this shal your grace driue these flatterers and claubackes awaye. And I am afrayed I haue troubled you to longe.

Therefore I wyl furnyshe the texte nowe wyth an hystory or two, and then I wyll leaue you to God. Ye haue heard how a kyng ought to passe ye tyme. He

* That he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children.— Deut. xvii. 20 : see text at p. 55.

muste read the boke of God, and it is not inoughe for hym to reade, but he must be acquainted wyth all scripture, he must stude, and he muste praye, and howe shall he do both these.

He maye learne at Salomon,

God spake vnto Salomon, when he was made a kynge, and bade hym aske of hym what he woulde, and he should haue it. Make thy petition sayed God, and thou shalt obtayne.

Nowe marke Salomons prayer. *domine, O domine deus,** sayd he. O Lorde God, it is thou that hast caused me to raigne, and haste set me in my fathers feate, for thou God onelye doeste make kynges. Thus should Kynges prayse God, and thanke God as Salomon dyd.

But what was his petition? Lorde, sayed he. *Da mihi cor docile.* He aske a docible herte, a wyse herte, and wyfedome to go in and to go out, that is to begyn all myne affayres well, and to brynge them to good effecte and purpose, that I maye learne to guyde and gouerne my people. When he had made his petition it pleased God wel that Salomon asked wifdome, and neyther ryches nor longe lyfe, and therefore God made hym thys answere. Bycause thou hast chosen wyfedome aboue al thynges I wyl gyue ye it, and thou shalt be ye wyfeste kyng that euer was before the, and so he was, and the wifeste in al kynds of knowle[d]ge that euer was fyth; and thoughte he did not aske riches, yet god gaue him both ryches and honoure, more then euer anye of hys auncitours had.

So your grace must learne howe to do of Salomon. Ye must make your petition, nowe study, nowe praye. They must be yoked together, and thys is called pastime wyth good company. Nowe when God had geuen Salomon wyfedome, he sente hym by and by occasion to occupy hys wyt. For God gaue neuer a gyft, but he sent occasion at one tyme or an other to shewe it to Gods glory. As if he sent riches, he sendeth pore men to be helped wyth it. But now must

* 1 Kings iii.

men occupy theyr goodes other ways. They wil not loke on the poore, they muste helpe their children, and purchase them more land then euer their grandfather had before them. But I shall tell you what Christ sayd. He that loueth his child better then me is not worthye to be my disciple. I can not se how ye shal stande before God at the later daye, when thys sentence shall be layed agaynste you.

But to returne to my purpose, there were two pore women came before Salomon to complayne. They were two harlots, and dwelled togyther in one house, and it chaunced within. ii. dayes they chylded both. The one of these women bi chaunce in the nyght had kylled hyr child and rose priuely and went to the other woman, and toke hir lyue chylde away, and left hir dead chylde in hys place.

Vpon that they came boeth before Salomon to haue the matter iudged, whose the child was. And the one sayed, it is my chylde. Naye, sayeth the other, it is myne. So there was yea, and naye, betwene them, and they helde vp the matter wyth skoldinge after a womanly fashyon. At length Salomon repeted theyr tale as a good iudge, ought to do, and sayd to the one woman.

Thou sayst the child is thine, yea sayed she. And thou sayste it is thyne to the other. Well, fetch me a swerd sayed he. For there was no way now to trye whyche was the true mother, but by naturall inclination.

And so he sayed to one of hys seruantes. Fetche me a swerde and deuyde the chylde betwene them. When the mother of the chylde that accused the other hearde hym saye so. Naye for Goddes sake sayed she, let hyr haue the whole chylde, and kil it not. Naye quod the other, neyther thyne, nor myne, but let it be deuided.

Then sayed Salomon. Geue thys woman the chylde, thys is the mother of the chylde.

What came of thys? *Audiuit omnis Ifrael.* When

all Israell heard of thys iudgemente, they feared the kyng. It is wyfedome and Godly knowle[d]ge that caufeth a kyng to be feared. One word note here for Gods sake, and I wyll trouble you no lenger.

Woulde Salomon beyng so noble kyng heare. ii. poore women. They were pore, for as the scripture faith. They were togyther alone in a house, they hadde not so muche as one seruaunt betwene them boeth.

Woulde kyng Salomon I say heare them in his own person? Yea forsothe. And yet I heare of many matters before my Lorde Protectour, and my Lorde Chaunceloure that can not be hearde. I muste defyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thys matter, that your grace would heare poore mens futes yourselfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let them not be delayed. The faying is, nowe that mony is harde euery wher if he be ryche he shall soone haue an ende of his matter. Other are fayn to go home with weping teares for ani help they can obtain at ani Iudges hand. Heere mens suets your selfe I requyre you in godes behalfe and put it not to the hering of these veluet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man can skarfe knowe them from an auncyent Knyght of the countrye.

I can not go to my boke for pore folkes come vnto me, desiryng me that I wyll speake yat that theyr matters maye be heard. I trouble my Lord of Canterburye, and beyng at hys house nowe and then I walke in the garden loking in my boke, as I canne do but little good at it. But some thyng I muste nedes do to satiffye thys place.

I am no foner in the garden and haue red a whyle, but by and by commeth there some or other knocking at the gate.

Anone cometh my man and sayth. Syr, there is one at the gate woulde speake wyth you. When I come there, then is it some or other that desireth me that I wyll speake that hys matter might he heard,

and that he hathe layne thys longe at great costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing, but among all other, one especially moued me at thys tyme to speake.

Thys it is fyr. A gentylwoman came to me and tolde me, that a greate man kepeth certaine landes of hyrs from hir, and wilbe hyr tenaunte in the spite of hyr tethe. And that in a whole twelue moneth she coulde not gette but one daye for the hearynge of hyr matter, and the same daye when the matter shoulde be hearde, the greate manne broughte on hys syde a greate fyghte of Lawyers for hys counfayle, the gentylwoman had but one man of lawe: and the great man shakes hym so that he can not tell what to do, so that when the matter came to the poynte, the Iudge was a meane to the gentylwoman, that she wold let the great man haue a quietnes in hyr Lande. I besече youre grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

Hearre them your selfe? Vieu your Iudges? And hearre pore mens causes. And you proude Iudges herken what God fayeth in hys holye boke. *Audite illos, ita paruum ut magnum.** Hearre theym fayeth he, the small as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no perfon, feare no man. Why? *Quia domini iudicium est.** The iudgemente is Goddes.

Marcke thys sayinge thou proude Iudge? The deuyl will brynge thys sentence at the daye of Dombe. Hel wyl be ful of these Iudges if they repent not and amende.

They are worffe then the wicked Iudge that Christe speaketh of, that neyther feared God, nor the worlde. There was a certayne wyddowe that was a suter to a Iudge, and she met hym in euery corner of the streate, crynge. I pray you hearre me, I besech you hearre me, I aske nothyng but ryght.

When the Iudge sawe hyr so importunate, though I fere neyther God, sayth he, nor the worlde, yet by-cause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.

* Ye shall hear the small as well the face of man; for the judgment is as the great, ye shall not be afraid of God's.—Deut. i. 17.

But our Iudges are worffe then thys Iudge was. For they wyll neyther heare men for Gods sake, nor feare of the worlde, not importunatenes, nor any thyng else. Yea some of them wyll commaund them to ward, if thei be importunat.

I hearde saye, that when a suter came to one of theym, he sayed. What fellowe is it that geueth these folke counfayl to be so importunate, he would be punyshed and commytted to ward.

Mary fye, punishe me then, it is euen I that gaue them counfayle, I woulde gladlye be punished in suche a cause. And if ye mend not, I wyll cause them to crye oute vppon you styll: euen as long as I lyue. I wyll do it in dede, but I haue troubled you long. As I began wyth thys sentence. *Quocunq; scripta sunt. etc.** So wyl I end now wyth thys texte. *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei et custodiunt illud.†* Blessed are they that heare the worde of God and kepeth it.

There was an other sute and I had almooste forgotten it.

There is a poore woman that lyeth in the Flete, and can not come by anye meanes that she can make, to hyr answere, and woulde fayne be baylled, offerynge to put in suerties worth a thousande ponde and yet she can not be hard. Me thinke this is a reasonable cause, it is great pitie yat such things shold so be. I besech God, that he wil graunte that all that is amyse may be amended yat we mai hear his word and kepe it, yat we mai hear his worde, and kepe it, yat we maye come to ye eternall blisse, to the which blyffe I besече God to bryng both you and me. Amen.

* Rom. xv. 4.

word of God, and keep it.— Luke xi.

† Blessed *are* they that hear the

The thyrdē

Sermon of Maſter Hughe
Latimer, whyche he preached before
the Kyngē wythin hys graces
Palace at Weſtmīſter
the. xxii. daye of
Marche.



*Quocumque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges yat are wrytten, are wrytten to be oure doctrine. Al thinges that be wrytten in Gods holye Boke the Byble, were wrytten to be oure doctrine longe before our tyme, to serue from tyme to time, and so forth

to the worldes ende.

Ye shall haue in Remembraunce, mooste benyngē and gracyouſe Audience, that a preacher hathe. ii. offices, and the one to be vsed orderly after an other.

The fyrſte is *Exhortari per sanam doctrinam.*† To teach true doctrine He shall haue also occation oftentimes to vse an other, and that is. *Contradicentes conuincere.*† To reprehende to conuynce, to confute gayneſayers and ſpurners againſt the truth.

Whye? you wyll ſaye, wyll anye bodye gayne ſaye true doctrine, and ſound doctrine? Well, let a preacher be ſure, yat hys doctrine be true, and it is not to be thought, that anye bodye wil gayneſaye it. If S. Paule had not forſene that ther ſhold be gayneſayers, he hadde not neade to haue appoynted the confutation of gayneſayinge.

* Rom. xv. 4.

† [A biſhop]. . . that he may
be able by ſound doctrine both to

exhort and to conuince the gainsayers.

—Titus i. 9.

Was there euer yet preachers, but ther were gaynfaiars? that spurned? that winst? yat whympred agaynste him? that blasphemed, that gaynefayed it?

When Moyfes came to Egipt wyth founde doctrine, he had Pharao to gaynefay hym. Ieremy was the minister of the true word of God, he had gainfayers the priestes, and the false Prophets borne vp by Achab.

Ely[as] had all Bals priestes supported by Iesabel to speake agaynste hym.

John Baptiste and our Sauioure Iesus Christe, had the Phariseis, the Scribes, and the priestes gaynfayers to theym. The Apostles, ye Apostles had gayne fayers also, for it was sayd to faynt Paule at Rome, *Notum est nobis quod ubique sectæ huic contradicitur*.* We knowe that euery man doth gaynefaye thys lernyng. After the Apostles time the trueth was gaynefayed with tyrantes, as Nero, Maxentius, Domicianus, and fuche lyke, and also by the doctrine of wicked heritikes.

In the popish masse time, ther was no gaynfaiynge, al thynges semed to be in peace, in a concorde, in a quiet agreement. So longe as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popysh masse, we were then withoute gaynfaying. What was that?

The same yat Christe speaketh of. *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium etc.*† When Sathan the deuyll hath the gudyng of the house, he kepeth all in peace yat is in his possessyon: whan Sathan ruleth, and bereth domynion in open Religyon, as he dyd with vs when we preched pardon matters, purgatory matters and pylgremage matters, al was quiet. He is ware inough, he is wily, and circumspect for stiryng vp any fedicion. When he kepeth his terrytory al is in peace.

Yf there were any manne that preached in England in times past, in the popes tymes, (as peradventure ther was. ij. or. iij.) straight ways he was taken and naped in ye head wyth the title of an heretique. When

* For as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against.—Acts xxviii. 22.

When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace —Luke xi. 21.

he hath the religyon in possessyon he sturreth vppe no fedytyon, I warrent yow.

Howe many discentions haue we hearde of in Turkye? But a fewe I warrant you. He busyeth hym selfe there wyth no discention. For he hathe there dominion in the open Religion, and neadeth not to trouble hym selfe any further.

The Iewes lyke ronnagates where so euer they dwell (for they be disperst and be tributaries in all contries where they enhabyte) loke ye Heare ye anye heriseis amonge them? But when *fortis superuenerit** when one stronger then the Deuyll, cometh in place, whych is oure Sauioure Iesus Christe, and reueleth hys worde, then the Deuyll roareth, then he bestyrreth hym, then he rayseth diuersitie of opinions to slaunder Gods word. And if euer concord should haue bene in Religion, when shoulde it haue bene but when Christe was here? Ye fynde faulte wyth preachers, and saye, they cause fedition. We are noted to be raffh, and vndiscrete in our preachynge. Yet as discrete as Christe was ther was diuersitie, yea, what he was him self. For when he asked what men called hym. His Apofles answered him. Some saye, you are Iohan Baptiste, some saye you are Helias, and some saye, you are one of the prophets, and these were they yat spake beste of hym. For some fayed, he was a Samaritane, that he had a Deuyll wythin him, a glofer, a drincker, a pot-companion.

There was neuer Prophet to be compared to him, and yet was ther neuer more discention then when he was, and preached hym selfe.

If it were contraried then, wil ye thynke it shal not be contraryed now, when charitie is so colde and iniquitye so stronge. Thus these backebiters, and sclaundersers must be conuincid.

Sainte Paule fayed. There shall be intractabiles, that wil whympe and whine, ther shall be also *Vani-*

* But when a stronger than he shall come unto him.—Luke xi. 22.

loqui, vayne speakers. For the whyche Saynte Paule appoynteth the preacher to stoppe theyr mouthes and it is a preachers office to be a mouthe stopper.

Thys daye I muste somewhat do in the seconde offyce, I muste be a gaynesfayer, and I must stoppe theyr mouthes, conuynce, refell, and confute that, they speake sclaunderouflye of me.

There be some gaynesfayers gaynesfayers, for there be some sclaunderouse people, vaynesfyeakers, and *intractabiles* whych I must nedes speake agaynst.

But fyrste I wyll make a shorte rehearfall to you in memorye of that, that I spake in my laste Sermon. And that done, I wyll confute one that slaundereth me. For one ther is yat I must nedes answere vnto, for he sclaundereth me for my preachynge before the kynges maiestye. There be some to blame, that when a preacher is wearye, yet they wyll haue hym speake all at once.

Ye must tary till ye here more. Ye must not be offended till ye here the rest. Heare al and then iudge al. What ye are verye hastie, very quicke with youre preachers? But before I enter further into thys matter I shal desire you to praye. etc.

Fyrst of all as touchynge my fyrst sermon, I wyll runne it ouer *cursorie*, ryppynge a lytle the matter. I brought in an hyforye of the Bible, ex-
The Epiloge, or rehearsal of the fyrste sermon. cytinge my audience to beware of bywalkynges, to walke ordinatelye, playnly, the kynges hygh way, and agre to that, which standeth wyth the ordre of a Realme.

I shewed you how we were vnder the bliffyng of God, for our kinge is *Nobilis*, I shewed you we haue a noble Kyng. True inheritoure to the crowne with out doubt. I shewed furthermore of hys godly educacion. He hath fuche schole Maysters as can not be gotten in all the Realme a gaine. Wherefore we maye
The Kynges Scholemasters are prayesed. be fuer yat God blessed thys Realme, althoughe he cursed ye realme, whose ruler is a chylde, vnder whom the officers be

climbynge and glenyng, sturyng, scrachyng, and scrapyng, and voluptuously set on banketyng and for the maynetenaunce of their voluptuousnes, go by walkes. And althoughe he be yong he hath as good, and as sage a counfayle, as euer was in England, which we maye we know by their godly procedinges, and settinge fourthe of the worde of God: Therefore lette vs not be worfe, then the stiffe necked Iewes. In kinge Iofias tyme, (who beyng yonge dyd alter, chaunge and correcte wonderfully the religion) it was neuer hard in Ieurye that the people repyned or sayed, The kynge is a child. This geare wyl not last long. It is but one or two mens doinges. It wyl tarye but for a tyme. The kynge knoweth it not. Wo worth that euer such men were borne. Take hede lest for our rebellion God take hys bleffynge a waye from vs. I entred into the place of the kynges pastyng. I tolde you howe he muste passe hys tyme in readyng the boke of God (for that is the kynges pastyng by gods appoyntemente) in the whyche boke he shal lerne to feare God.

The Counsayle of Englande haue theyr condyng and worthy prayse worthely.

The people dyd not repyne agaynst Kynge Iosyas in hys minorite.

What is a Prynce lyke pastyme.

Oh howe carefull God is to set in an order all thynges that belong to a kyng, in his chamber, in hys stable, in hys treasure house.

God is carefull for a kynges house and the order of the same.

These peuishe people in this Realme haue nothyng but the kynge, the kinge in theyr mouthes, when it maketh for theyr purpose. As ther was a doctour that preached, the kynges maiesty hath his holy water, he crepeth to the crosse, and then thei haue nothyng but the Kynge the king in their mouthes. These be my good people that muste haue their mouthes slopte, but if a man tel them of the kynges proceadynges, nowe they haue theyr shyftes, and theyr putofs fainge, we maye not go before a lawe, we maye

The kinge is in euery mannes mouthe when it makes for theyr purpose.

Many shyftes and put offes,

breake no order. These be the wicked preachers, ther mouthes muste be stoppe, these be the gaynesayers. Another thing ther is yat I told you of, *Ne eleuetur a kyng* must *cor regis. etc.** The kyng must not be proude. proude ouer hys brethren. He must order his people wyth brotherly loue and charitye. Here I broughte in exemples of proude kynges. It is a greate pride in kinges and maiestrates when they wyl not heare, nor be conformable to the sound doctrine of god. It is an other kinde of pride in kynges, when they thynke them selues so high, so lofty, that they disdaine and thinke it not for their honour to heare poore mens causes them selues. They haue claubacks yat fay vnto them. What fir? what nede you to trouble your selfe? take you youre pleasure, hunte, Hauke, daunce, and dallye, let vs a lone: we wyll gouerne and order the commune weale matters well ynoughe. Wo worth them, they haue bene the roote of al myschife and destruccion in thys Realme. A kyng ought not only for to reade and study, but also to praye. Let hym borowe example at Salomon, who pleased God hyghlye wyth hys petition, desyringe no worldly thinges, but wisedome, whych God did not onely graunt hym, but because he asked wysedome, he gaue hym manye mo thynges. As ryches, honoure, and such like. Oh, how it pleased God that he asked wisdom? And after he had geuen him this wisdom he sent hym also occasion to vse the same by a couple of strumpets. Here I told an example of a meke kyng, who so continued, vntyll, he came into the company of strange women. He hard them not by meanes, or by anye other, but in hys owne person, and I thinke verely the natural mother had neuer had her own child if he had

a kyng must not be proude.

ij. Kyndes of pryde in a kyng.

Kynges haue clau backs and docter pyke mote and his fellowe aboute them.

Claubacks counsell.

A kyng must pray as wel as rede

Salomon prayed for wysedome

Salomon herd the causes and complayntes of

* That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren —Deut. xvii. 19: see text at p. 55.

not herd the cause hym selfe. They were *Meritricēs*. Hoore althoughe some excuseth ye matter, and say they were but typpers, such as kepe alehouses. But it is but foly to excuse them, seyng ye Iewes were such, and not vnlyke, but thei had theyr stewes and the mayntenaunce of whordom as they had of other vycēs. One thyng I must here desier you to reforme my lords. You haue put downe the Stues. But I praye you what is the matter a mended? what a vayleth that? ye haue but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away. God should be honored euery where. For the scripture sayth *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius*.* The earth and the land is the Lordes. What place shuld be then within a Christian realme left, for to dishonour God. I must nedes shewe you such newes as I here. For thoughe I se it not my selfe, notwithstandinge it commeth faster to me then I would wishe. I do as S. Paule doth to the Corinthians *Auditor in vos stuprum*.† There is such a whoredome amonge you as is not amonge the gentiles. So lykewise. *Auditor*, I here say, yat ther is such whoredome in Englande as neuer was sene the like. He charged al the Corinthians for one mans offence sayinge. They were al gilty for one mans synne, if they would not correcte and redresse it, but winke at it. Lo, here may you se how that one mans sinne poluted al Corinth. A litle leauen as S. Paule fayeth, corrupteth a greate deale of dowe. Thys is, *Communicare alienis Peccatis*,‡ to be partaker of other mens sines I aduertise you in goddes name loke to it. I here say, ther is now more whoredom in London, then euer ther was on the bancke. These be the newes I haue to tell you. I feare they be true.

hys people
in hys owne
persone.

M. Latimers
request to
the lordes for
the abolishe-
ment of whor-
dome.

Al the Corin-
thyans charged
for wo- [one?]
mans synne

More whor-
dom in Lon-
don then euer
ther was on
the bancke,

* The earth is the LORD'S, and the fulness thereof.—Psa. xxiv. 1. *there is fornication among you.*—1 Cor. v. 1.

† It is reported commonly that ‡ Neither be partaker of other men's sins.—1 Tim. v. 22.

Ye ought to here of it, and redresses it, I here of it, and as paul sayeth, *Aliqua ex parte credo*.*

There is more open whoredome more stuede whoredome then euer was before. For Gods fake let it be looked vpon. It is youre offyce to se vnto it. Now to my confutacion. Ther is a certaine man that shortly after my fyrst sermon, beyng asked if he had

Of one that reported. M. Latimer to be a sedicious fellowe.

bene at the sermon that day, answered, yea : I praye you said he how lyked you hym ? mary fayed he, euen as I lyked hym alwayes, a fedicious fellowe. Oh lord he

pinched me ther in dede, nay he had rather a ful bytte at me. Yet I comfort my self with that, that Christ hym selfe was noted to be a sturrer vp of the

Christ was notyd for a sediciouse styrer of the people.

people against the Emperoure, and was contented to be called fediciouse. It becommeth me to take it in good worthe, I am not better then he was. In the

kings daies that dead is, a meanye of vs were called together before hym to faye our myndes in certaine

How. M. Latimer was accused to oure late kynge of famous memorye Kyng Henry the eygthe and hys answere.

matters. In the end one kneleth me downe, and accuseth me of sedicion, that I had preached fediciouse doctryne. A heuye salutacion, and a harde poynt of suche a mans doynge, as yf I shoulde name hym, ye woulde not thinke it. The king turned to me and fayed. What faye you to that

fyr ? Then I kneled downe, and turned me firste to myne accuser, and requyred hym.

Syr what fourme of preachinge woulde you appoynt me to preache before a Kynge ? Wold you haue me for to preache nothyng as concernynge a Kynge in the Kynges sermon ? Haue you any commyssion to apoynt me what I shal preache. Befydes this, I asked hym dyuers other questions, and he wold make no answere to none of them all. He had nothyng to faye. Then I turned me to the Kynge, and submytted my selfe to hys Grace

* I partly believe it. — 1 Cor. xi. 18.

and sayed I neuer thought my selfe worthy, nor I neuer sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willynge if you mislike me, to geue place to mi betters. For I graunt ther be a great many more worthy of the rounge then I am. And if it be your graces pleasure so to allowe them for preachers, I could be content to bere their bokes after them. But if your grace allowe me for a preacher I woulde desire your grace to geue me leaue to discharge my conscience, Geue me leaue to frame my doctrine accordyng to myne audience. I had byne a veri dolt to haue preached so, at the borders of your realme, as I preach before your grace. And I thanke almyghtye God, whych hath all wayes byne my remedy, that my saynges were well accepted of the kynge, for lyke a gracious Lorde he turned it into a nother communication. It is euen as the scripture saieth. *Cor Regis in manu domini.** The Lorde dyrected the kynges hart. Certaine of my frendes came to me wyth teares in theyr eyes, and tolde me, they loked I should haue bene in the tower the same nyghte. Thus haue I euer more bene burdened wyth the worde of sedition. I haue offended God greuouflye, transgressyng hys lawe, and but for hys remedy and hys mercy, I woulde not loke to be faued. As for sedicion, for ought that I knowe, me thynkes, I shoulde not nede Christ, if I myght so saye. But if I be cleare in anye thyng, I am cleare in this. So farre as I knowe myne owne herte, there is no man further from sedicion then I, the whyche I haue declared in al my doynge, and yet it hath bene euer laied to me. Another tyme, when I gaue ouer mine office, I should haue receyued a certayne dutye that they cal a Pentecostal, it came to the summe of fyfthe and fyue pound, I sent my commiffarye to gather

His aunswer
to the kynge.

In preaching
we must haue
respect to the
place and to
the persons,

M. Latimer
was euer voi-
de of sedicion
and yet styl
charged
and burde-
ned therwith.

How. M. La-
timer hys pen-
tecostall
was de-

* The king's heart is in the hand of the LORD.—Prov. xxi. 1.

teyned and
vpon what
skyll.

it, but he coulde not be suffered. For it was sayed a fedicion shoulde ryse vpon it.

Thus they burdened me euer wyth fedicion. So thys gentilman commeth vp nowe wyth fedicion. And wote ye what? I chaunced in my laste Sermon to

Of the newe
shyllynge.

speake a merye worde of the new shilling, to refreshe my auditory, howe I was lyke

to put away my newe shillynge for an old grote, I was herein noted to speake fediciously. Yet I conforte my selfe in one thyng, yat I am not alone, and that I haue a fellowe. For it is, *Consolatio miserorum*. It is the conforte of the wretched to haue company. When I was in trouble. it was obiected an[d] sayed vnto

M. Latimer
noted of a
syngularyte.

me, yat I was singular, that no manne thought as I thought, that I loued a syngularyte in all that I dyd, and that I tooke

a way, contrary to the kynge, and the whole parliamente, and that I was trauayled wyth them, that had better wyttes then I, that I was contrari to them al. Marye fyr thys was a fore thunder bolte. I thought it an yrksome thinge to be alone, and to haue no fellowe. I thoughte it was possyble it myghte not be true that they tolde me. In the. vii. of Ihon the Prestes sente oute certayne of the Iewes to bring Christ vnto them vyolentlye. When they came into the temple, and harde hym preache, they were so moued wyth his preachynge, that they returned home agayne, and sayed to them that sente them. *Nunquam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo.** There was neuer man spake lyke this man. Then answered the Pharises *Num et uos seducti estis?†* What ye brainfycke fooles, Ye hoddy peckes, Ye doddye poulles, ye huddes, do ye beleue hym? are you seduced also? *Num quis ex Principibus credidit in eum.‡* Did ye se anye greate man, or anye great offycer take hys part? doo ye se any boddy follow hym, but beggerlye fyshers, and suche as

A paraphra-
stical exposi-
tion.

are you seduced also? *Num quis ex Principibus credidit in eum.‡* Did ye se anye greate man, or anye great offycer take hys part? doo ye se any boddy follow hym, but beggerlye fyshers, and suche as

* Never man spake like this man.
—John vii. 46.

‡ Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him?—Ver. 48.

† Are ye also deceived?—Ver. 47.

haue nothyng to take to? *Num quis ex Phariseis?* Doo ye se anye holy man? any perfect man? any learned man take hys parte? *Turba quæ ignorat legem execrabilis est.** Thys laye people is accursed, it is they that know not the lawe, that takes hys parte, and none elles.

Lo here the Pharises hadde nothyng to choke the people, wyth al, but ignoraunce. They dyd as our byshoppes of Englande, who vpbayed the people al wayes wyth ignoraunce, where they were the cause of it themselues. There were fayeth faint Iohn. *Multi ex principibus, qui crediderunt in eum.†* Many of the chyefe menne beleued in hym, and that was contrarye to the Pharisyfes sayinge. Oh then by lyke they belyed him, he was not alone.

The byshoppes called the people ignoraunt and they were the cause of it them selues.

So thoughte I, there be more of myne opinion then I, I thought I was not alone. I haue nowe gotten one felowe more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my felow? Esai the Prophete, I speake but of a lytle preaty shyllyng. But he speaketh to Hierusalem after an other forte, and was so bold to meddle with theyr coine Thou proude, thou couetouse, thou hautye cytye of Hierusalem. *Argentum tuum uersum est in scoriam.‡* Thy syluer is turned into, what? into testyons? *Scoriam,†* into drosse. Ah sediciouse wretche, what hadde he to do wyth the mynte? Why shoulde not he haue lefte that matter to some mayster of policy to reprove?

M. Latimer hath gotten Esay the prophet to be his companion in sedicion.

Marke well thys terme.

Esay medled wyth the coyne of the mynt.

Thy Syluer is drosse, it is not fyne, it is counterfayte, thy siluer is turned, you haddest good syluer. What pertained that to Esay? Mary he espyed a pece of diuinity in that polici, he threatneth them goddes vengauce for it. He went to the rote of the matter, whych was couetousnes. He espyed two pointes in it, that eythere it came of couet-

Two causes whye money

* But this people who knoweth not the law are cursed.—John vii. 49. † Thy silver is become dross.—Isa. i. 22.

believed on him.—John xii. 42.

‡ Thy silver is become dross.—

† Among the chief rulers also many

in Esayes
tyme was
more baser
and worse.

oufnesse, whych became hym to reprove,
or els that it tended to the hurte of the
pore people, for the naughtines of the
syluer, was the occasion of dearth of all thynges in
the Realme. He imputeth it to them as a greate
cryme. He may be called a mayster of fedicion in
dede. Was not thys a fedyciouse harlot to tell them
thys to theyr beardes? to theyr face.

Thys fediciouse man goeth also forthe, sayinge.
*Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua.** Thy wyne is myngeled
wyth water. Here he medeleth with vinte-
ners, be like ther were bruers in those
dayes, as ther be nowe.

Esay medel-
eth wyth vin-
teners.

It had bene good for our missal priestes to haue
dwelled in that contrye, for they might haue bene sure
to haue hadde theyre wyne wel myngled
wyth water. I remembre howe scrupu-
loue I was in my tyme of blyndnesse and
ignorauncye, when I shuld saye masse, I
haue put in water twyse or thryse for fayl-
yng, in so muche when I haue bene at
my Memento, I haue had a grudge in my
conscyence, fearynge that I hadde not putte in Watter
ynoughe.

Mayster La-
timer was
sumthyng
scrupulous,
when he was
a Masse say-
er, in delay-
inge of hys
wyne wyth
water.

And that which is here spoken of wine,
he meaneth it of al actes in the cytye, of
al kindes of faculties, for they haue al
theyr medles and mynglynges. That he speaketh of
one thyng, he meaneth generally of al. I must tell
you more newes yet.

Esaye spoke
of one vyce
but he mente
yt of mo.

I here saye, there is a certayne connyng
come vp in myxyng of wares.

Howe saye you, were it not wonder to
here that clothe makers should become

Cloth ma-
kers are be-
come Potica-
ryes, yea and
amonge the
Gospellers.

poticaries

Yea and as I heare saye, in fuche a place, where
as they haue professed the Gospell, and the word of
God most earnestly of a longe tyme. Se how busie the

* Thy wine mixed with water.—Isa. i. 22.

Deuell is to sclaunder the word of god? Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdes longe, he wyl set hym on a racke, and stretch hym out wyth ropes, and racke hym tyll the fenewes shrinke a gayne, whyles he hath brought hym to xxvii. yardes. When they haue brought him to that perfection, they haue a prety feate to thicke him againe. He makes me a pouder for it, an[d] playes the poticary, thei cal it floke pouder they do so in corporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider, truely a goodly inuention.

A pretti kind
of multiply-
inge.

Flocke pow-
der.

Oh that so goodly wittes shold be so yl applyed, they maye wel deceyue the people but they can not deceyue God. They were wont to make beddes of flockes and it was a good bed to, nowe they haue turned theyr flockes into a pouder to playe the false theaues with it. O wicked deuil what can he inuent to blaspheme Goddes worde? These myxturs come of couetousnes. Thei are playne theft. Woo worthe that these flockes should so slander the worde of God.

These mix-
tures and
multyplyin-
ges are theft.

As he saied to the Iewes, thy wyne is myngled wyth water, so myghte he haue sayed to vs of this Lande. Thy clothe is myngeled wyth flockepouder. He goeth yet on. This fediciouse man reprooueth thyshonorable cytye, and saied. *Principes tui infideles.** Thou land of Hierusalem, thy magystrates, thy Iudges are vnfaythfull, they kepe no touche, they wyl talke of many gaye thinges, they wil pretende this and that, but thei kepe no promise. Thei be worffe then vnfaythfull, he was not afrayed to call the offycers vnfaythful. *Et focii furum.** Felowes of theues, for theues and theues felowes, be all of one sorte They were wonte to saye. Aske my felowe yf I be a thiefe. He calleth prynces theues. Why, ar[e] prynces theues? What a fediciouse harlot

Esay was
sumwhat ho-
mely: when
he calleth the
magystrates
vnfaythful
and fellowes
of theues.

* Thy princes *are* rebellious, and companions of thieves.—Isa. i. 23.

was thys? was he worthi to liue in a commune wealth that would cal prynces on yat wyfe, felowes of theues? Had they a standynge at shooters hyll, or Stangat hole to take a pourse? Why? dyd they stande by the hyghe waye fyde Dyd they robbe? or breake open any mans house or dore? No no.

There are two kynde of theuynge, a grosse kynde of theuynge and a princely kynde of theuynge.

Brybery is a kynde of theauynge.

Brybes haue gotten a new name and vnder a colour are callyd gentyl rewardes, but that is not theyr chrysten name.

were all the magistrates in Ierusalem, all brybe takers? none good? No doubtte there were some good, This word *omnes*, signifeth the mooste parte, and so there be some good I doubtte not of it in Englande.

We are worse then the styffe necked Iewes.

preachinge, or sayd yat he was a seditiouse fellowe. It behoueth the magistrates to be in credite, and therefore it might seme yat Esay was to blame to speake openli against the Magistrates. It is very sure that

The good wyl not spurne nor kycke at the preacher.

So it faryth by a galled Horse.

That is a grosse kind of theuynge. They were princes, they had a pryncely kynde of theueynge. *Omnes diligunt munera.**

They al loue brybes. Brybery is a pryncely kynde of theuing. Thei wil be waged by the rich, eyther to geue sentence agaynste the poore, or to put of the poore mannes causes. This is the noble theft of princes, and of magistrates. Thei are bribetakers.

Nowe a dayes they call them gentle rewardes, let them leaue their colourynge, and cal them by their Christian name. Brybes. *omnes diligunt munera.** Al, al all the prynces, all the Iudges, all the Prestes, all rulers are brybers. What?

But yet we be farre worffe then those styf-necked Iewes. For we reade of none of them yat winfed, or kicked agaynste Esaias

they that be good wyl beare, and not spourne at the preachers, they that be fautye they muste amende, and neyther spourne, nor wyne, nor whyne. He that fyndeth hym selfe touched or galled, he declareth hym selfe not to be vpryghte.

* Every one loveth gifts.—Isa. i. 23.

Wo worth these giftes, they subuert iustyce euerye where. *Sequuntur retributiones.** They folow bribes. Some what was geuen to them before, and they muste nedes geue somewhat againe, for giffe gaffe was a good fellow, this gyffe gaffe led them clene from iustice. Thei folow giftes.

Gyffe Gaffe was a good fellowe.

A good fellow on a tyme had an other of hys frendes to a breakefaste, and sayed: Yf you wyl come you shalbe welcome, but I tel you afore hande, you shal haue but sclender fare, one dish and that is al, what is that sayed he? A puddynge, and nothyng els. Mary sayed he, you cannot please me better, of all meates that is for myne owne toth, you may draw me round about the town with a pudding. These brybyng magystrates, and iudges folow giftes faster, then the fellow woulde followe the puddynge.

A good fellow was bidden to a breakefast to a puddynge.

They follow brybes as fast as the fellow dyd the puddynge.

I am contente to beare the title of sedicion wyth Esai. Thankes be to God, I am not alone I am in no singularytye. This same man that layed sedycyon thus to my charge, was asked an other tyme, whether he were at the sermon at Paules crosse, he aunswered that he was ther, and beyng asked what news ther. Mary quod he, wonderful newes, we were ther cleane absolued, my Mule and al had ful absolucion, ye may se by thys, that he was suche a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentylman.

Of the stout skorneful gentil man which sayed that he and hys Mule had ful absolucion at Paules Crosse:

In dede hys Mule was wyfer then he, for I dare faye, the Mule neuer sclaudered the Preacher. Oh what an vnhappy chaunce had thys Mule to carye suche an Affe vppon hys backe. I was there at the sermon my selfe, in the ende of hys sermon he gaue a generall absolucion, and as farre as I remember these, or suche other lyke were hys wordes, but at the leaste I am sure, thys was hys meanynge. As manye as do knowledge your selues to be fynners, and confesse the same and standes not in de-

The preachers wordes in hys absolucion.

* And followeth after rewards.—Isa. i. 23.

fence of it, and hartelye abhorreth it, and wil beleue in the death of christ, and be conformable therunto, *Ego absoluo uos*, quod he. Now fayeth thysgentylman, his mule was absolued. The preacher absolued but suche as were forye, and dyd repente. Be lyke then Mule.

she dyd repent her stumblynge, hys Mule was wyfer then he a greate deale. I speake not of worldely wysedome, for therin he is to wyfe, yea, he is so wyfe, that wyfe men maruayle, howe he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath. But in wisdom which consisteth *In rebus dei, In rebus salutis*, in godlye matters and appar- taynyng to oure saluacion, in this wysdome he is a blynd as a beatel. They be. *Tanquam equus et Mulus, in quibus non est intellectus*.^{*} Like Horses and Mules, that haue no vnderstandyng. If it were true that the Mule repented hyr of her stumbling I thynke she was better

A charitable whysshe of M. Latimer
How tender and deynety eared men of these dayes be, that had rather comyt. xx. fautes then here tel of one.

Poore mens sonnes for the most part haue euer traueled aboute the set-tyng forth of Goddes worde.

Iohannes Alasco.

absolued then he. I praye God stop his mouth, or els to open it to speke better, and more to hys glory. An other man quickned wyth a word I spoke (as he fayed opprobriouflye agaynste the nobility that theyr chyl dren dyd not fet fourth Gods worde, but were vnpreachyng prelates) was offended wyth me.

I did not meane so, but that some noble mens chyl dren had fet forth Goddes worde, howe be it the poore mens sonnes haue done it alwayes for the mooste parte. Iohannes Alasco was here a greate learned man, and as they saye, a noble man in his contrye, and is gone hys way a gayne, if it be for lacke of intertaynement, the more pytye. I woulde wyshe suche men as he to be in the realme, for the realme shoulde prospere in receuyng of them. *Qui uos recipit, me recipit*.[†] Who

^{*} As the horse, or as the mule, which have no understanding.—Psa. xxxii. 9. [†] He that receiveth you receiveth me.—Matt. x. 40.

receyue you receiue me (sayed christ) and it shuld be for the kynges honour to receyue them and kepethem. I heardsaye Mayster Melancton, that greate clarke, shoulde come hyther. I woulde wyfhe hym, and fuche as he is, to haue CC. [two hundred] pound a yere. The king shold neuer wante it in hys coffers at the yeres ende. There is yet among vs. ii. great learned men Petrus Martyr, and Bernardine, whych haue a. C. [hundred] marckes a pece. I woulde the Kyng wold bestowe a thousand pound on that fort. Nowe I wil to my place againe. In the later ende of my fermon I exhorted iudges to heare the small as wel as the great. *Iuste quod iustum est iudicate.* You must not onelye do iustice, but do it iustlye, you muste obserue all the circumstances. You must geue iustice, and minister iust iudgemente in time.

Yt is honorable for the Kyng to be munifical and lyberal toward the learned.

Petrus martyr and Bernardine Ochine.

For the delayinge of matters of the poore folke, is as synfull before the face of god as wrong iudgemente. I reherfed here a parable of a wycked Iudge, whiche for importunities sake, herde the poore womans cause, et. cetera.* Here is a comfortable place, for al you that crye oute and are oppressed, for you haue not a wycked iudge, but a mercifull iudge to call vnto. I am not so ful of folysh pytye, but I can consider well ynoughe, that some of you complayne with out a cause. They wepe, they wayle, they mourne I am sure some not wyth out a cause. I dyd not here reprove all iudges, and finde faute wyth all. I thinke we haue some as painfull magistrates, as euer was in Englande, but I wyll not sweare they be all so, and they that be not of the best, muste be

The parable of the wicked Iudge.

Some as payneful magistrates in Englande as euer was.

* There was in a city a iudge, which feared not God, neither regarded man :

And there was a widow in that city ; and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary.

And he would not for a while : but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man

Yet because this woman troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me.

And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust iudge saith.

And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them ?

I tell you that he will avenge them speedily.--Luke xviii. 2-8.

A good lesson for suche as are magistrates, but none of the best.

contente to be taught, and not disdayne to be reprehended. Dauid sayeth. *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.** I refer it to youre conscience.

*Vos qui iudicatis terram.** Ye that be iudges on the earth, whether ye haue heard poore mens causes wyth expedicion or no, Yf ye haue not, then *crudimini*, be content to be touched, to be tolde.

You wydowes, you orphanes, you poore people, here is a comfortable place for you.

Though these Iudges of the world wyl not heare you, there is one wyl be content with your importunite, he wyl remedye you, if you come after a ryghte forte vnto him.

Ye say. The Iudge doth blame you for youre importunite, it is yrckelome vnto him. He entered into this parable to teache you to be importune in your petition. *Non defatigari.* not to be weri.

How and by what meanes we shuld resort to God in aduersitye

Here he teacheth you, how to come to god in aduersitie, and by what meanes, whyche is by prayer. I do not speake of the meryte of Christ, For he sayeth. *Ego*

sum via.†

qui credit in me, habet vitam eternam.‡

Who so beleueth in me hath euerlastyng lyfe. But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remedy aduersitie? in anguyshe, in tribulacions? in our necessites? in our iniuries? The waye is prayer.

We are taught by the commaundement of God.

Inuoca me in die tribulationis et ego eripiam te.§ Thou wyddowe, thou orphane, thou fatherles chylde, I speake to the that hast no frendes to healpe the, call vpon me in the daye of thy trybulacion, cal vpon me, *Ego eripiam te.§*

The swete promysse of Christe :

I wyl plucke the a waye, I wyl delyuer the, I wyl take the a waye, I wyl releue the, thou shalte haue thy hartes desyre. Here is the promysse,

* Be instructed, ye iudges of the earth.—Psa. ii. 10.

† I am the way.—John xiv. 6.

‡ He that belieueth on me hath everlasting life.—John vi. 47.

§ Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.—Psa. l. 15.

here is the comfort. *Glorificabis me.** Thanke me, accepte me for the author of it, and thanke not thys creature or that for it. Here is the Iudge of al Iudges, come vnto hym, and he wyll heare you. For he faieth, *quicquid petieritis patrem in nomine meo. etc.*† What so euer ye aske my father in my name, shall be geuen you thorough my merytes. You my rable people that are wronged in the world, aske of my father in your distreffes, but put me a fore, looke you come not wyth bragges of youre owne merytes but come in my name, and by my meryte.

The order of our prayer and askynge.

He hath not the propertye of thys stout Iudge, he wyl beare your importunatenes, he wyll not be angrye at your cryng and calling. The prophet faith. *Sperauerunt in te Patres nostri, et exaudiuisti illos.*‡ Thou god thou god, our fathers dyd crye vpon the, and thou heardest them. Arte thou not oure God as well as theyres. Ther is nothynge more pleasaunte to God, then for to putte hym in remembraunce of hys goodnes shewed vnto our forefathers. It is a pleasaunte thyng to tell God of the benefytes that he hath done before oure tyme.

What God woulde here of vs and wherein he delytys.

Go to Moyfes, who hadde the guydynge of Goddes people, se howe he vsed prayer, as an instrumente to be delyuered out of aduersitye, when he hadde greate roughe mountaynes on euerye side of hym, and before hym the redde sea, Pharaos hoste behynde hym, peril of death round about him. What did he? dispayred he? no, Whyther went he? He repayed to god with this prayer, and sayed nothing. Yet with a great ardeny of sp[i]rit he perced gods eares. Now helpe or neuer good lord, now helpe, but in thi hand quod he. Though he neuer moued his lypes, yet the scripture sayeth he cryed out and the lord heard hym, and sayd, *quid clamas ad me?*§ Why cryest thou oute so loude? the people

Moyses used prayer as an instrument in aduersitie.

* Thou shalt glorify me.—Psa l. 15. trusted, and thou didst deliver them.
 † Whatsoeuer ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you. —Psa. xxii. 4.
 —John xvi. 23. § Wherefore criest thou unto me?
 —Exod. xiv. 15.

‡ Our fathers trusted in thee: they

heard him say nothyng, and yet God fayed. Why
 Exodi, xiii crieft thou out. Straight wayes he stroke
 the water with hys rodde, and it deuided, and fode
 vp lyke two walles on eyther fyde, betwene the whyche
 goddes people passed, and the perfecutours were
 Iosue was drowned. Iofue was in angwyshe, and
 in anguyshe lyke distresse at Iericho, that true captayne,
 and distresse that fayethfull Iudge no follower of retri-
 and prayed, butions, no brybe taker, he was no money manne,
 who made hys peticion to almyghty God to shewe him
 the caufe of hys wrath toward hym, when hys army
 was plaged after the takynge of Ierycho. So he ob-
 tayneid hys prayer, and learned, that for one mannes
 faulte al the reste were punysshed. For
 For Acans Achans couetuoufnes many a thoufande
 couetu- were in agony, and feare of deathe, who
 ousnes, many a thousande
 a thousande punysshed.
 Iosue. vii. hyd his money, as he thought from God.
 But God sawe it well ynough, and brought it to lyght.

Thys Achan was a bywalker. Wel, it came to
 passe, when Iofua knewe it, strayghtwayes he purged
 the army, and tooke a waye. *Malum de Israel*, that is
 wyckednes from the people. For Iofua called him
 before the people, and fayed. *Dagloriam deo*.^{*} Gyue
 Iosue put A- prayse to God, tell trothe man, and forth-
 chan to wyth he tolde it. And then he and all
 death. hys house suffered deathe.
 Iosue. vii.

A goodly ensample for al magistrates to followe.
 Here was the execution of a true Iudge he was no
 Paralo. xx. gyfte taker, he was no wynker, he was no
 bywalker. Also when the Affirians with an innumerable
 power of men in Iosaphates time ouerflowed the lande of
 Israel. Iosaphate that good king goeth me strayght to
 god, and made his praier *Non est in nostra fortitudine* said
 he, *huic populo resistere*,[†] it is not in our strength, O
 Lord, to resist this people, and after his praier God de-
 liuered hym, and at the same tyme. x.M. [ten thousand]
 were destroyed. So ye miserable people, you must go to
 God in anguyshe, and make your prayer to hym.

^{*} Give ... glory to the LORD God great company that cometh against
 of Israel.—Josh. vii. 19. us.—2 Chron, xx. 12.

[†] We have no might against this

Arme your felues wyth prayer in your aduerfities. Many begyn to praye, and fodaynelye caſte away prayer, the Deuyll putteth fuche phantaſyes in theyr heades, as thoughte God coulde not entend them, or had ſome-what els to do.

Many begin to praye, but few perſeuer and contynue in prayer.

But you muſt be importune and not werye, nor caſte away prayer. Naye you muſte caſte away fynne. God wyll heare your prayer, albeit, you be fynners, I fend you a iudge yat wyll be glad to heare you. You that are oppreſſed, I ſpeake to you. Chriſt in this parable doth painte the good wyl of god towarde you, o miſerable people, he that is not receiued, let him not dyſpayre nor thinke yat god hath forſaken him. For god tarieth tyl he ſeith a time, and letter can do al thinges for vs, than we our felues can wiſh.

Caſte away synne and then praye.

A notable leſſon for him whiche prayeth.

There was a wycked Iudge etc. What meaneth it that God boroweth thys parable rather of a wycked Iudge, then of a good? Bylyke good iudges were rare at that tyme, and trowe ye the deuyll hath bene aſlepe euer ſence? no, no. He is as buſy as euer he was. The commune maner of a wycked Iudge is, neyther to feare god nor man. He conſidereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man bycauſe of hys pride.

The common maner of a wycked Iudge.

He loketh hye ouer the poore, he wyll be hadde in admiration, in adoration. He ſemeth to be in a protection. Well, ſhall he ſcape? Ho, ho, *eſt deus in caelo*.* There is a God in heauen, he accepteth no perſones, he wyll puniſhe them.

Ther was a pore woman came to thys iudge, and ſayd. *vindeca me de aduerſario*.† Se that myne aduerſari do me no wronge. He would not heare her but droue her of. She had no money to wage eyther him eyther them that were a boutte hym. Dyd thys

* God is in heaven. Eccles. v. 2.

† Avenge me of mine aduerſary.— Luke xviii. 3—ſee text at p. 91.

Whether
Christian
people maye
seke to be a-
uenged.

woman wel to be auenged of her aduer-
farye? maye Christyan people teke venge-
aunce? The Lord faith. *mihi vindictam
et ego retribuam.** When ye reueng ye
take myne office vpon you.

Thys is to be vnderstande of priuate vengeaunce.
It is lawfull for goddes flocke to vse meanes to put
awaye wronges, to reforte to iudges, to requyre to
haue sentence geue of ryght. Saynte Paule sente to
Actes .xxii. Lissias the tribune to haue thys ordinary
remedy, and Christe also sayd. *Si male locutus sum
etc.*† If I haue spoken euyl rebuke me? christ here
Math. xxvi. answered for him self. Note here my
Lordes and maisters what case poore wydowes and
orphanes be in.

I wyll tell you my Lordes Iudges, yt ye consider
thys matter well, ye shoulde be more a frayed of the
pore wyddowe, then of a noble manne wyth all the
frendes and power that he can make. But now a dayes
the Iudges be a fraied to heare a poore man agaynste
the rych, in so muche, they wyll eyther
pronounce agaynste hym, or so driue of the
poore mannes sute, that he shall not be
able to go thorowe wyth it. The greatest
man in a realme can not so hurte a Iudge as
the poore wyddow, suche a shrewede turne
she can do him. And with what armure I praye you.

The maner
of our Iud-
ges nowe a
dayes in hear-
yng of the
pore : against
the ryche.

How god ten-
dreth and re-
gardes the
cause of the
widow and
the poore.

She can bringe the Iudges skynne ouer
hys eares, and neuer lay handes vpon hym.
And how is that? *Lachrimæ miserorum
descendunt ad maxillas* the teares of the
poore fall downe vppon theyr checkes, *Et ascendunt ad
cælum*, and go vp to heauen, and cry for vengeaunce
before god, the iudge of wyddowes, the father of the
widowes and orphans. Pore people be oppressed euen
by lawes. *Væ iis qui condunt leges iniquas.*‡ wo worth to

* Vengeance is mine; I will repay,
saith the LORD.—Rom. xii. 19.

† If I have spoken evil, bear witness

of the evil.—John xviii. 23.

‡ Woe unto them that decree un-
righteous decrees!—Isa. x. 1.

them that make euil lawes. If wo be to them yat make laws against ye poore, what shal be to them yat hynder and mare good laws? *quid facietis in die ultionis.** What wyl ye do in the daye of vengeaunce, when God wyl vifyt you? He fayeth, he wyl heare the teares of poore women when he goeth on visita- cion. For theyr fakes he wyl hurte the Iudge, be he neuer so highe. *Deus transfert regna.* He wyll for wyddowes fakes chaunge Realmes, brynge them into subiection. plucke ye Iudges skynnes ouer theyr heades.

Cambises was a greate Emperoure, fuche Cambises. an other as oure mayster is, he had many Lorde depu- ties, Lord presidentes, and Leutenautes vnder hym. It is a greate whyle a go fythe I reade the hyfstory. It chaunced he hadde vnder hym in one of hys domi- nions a bryber, a gyft taker, a gratifier of rytche men, he folowed gyftes, as fast as he that folowed the puddynge, a hande maker in hys office, to make his sonne a great man, as the old fayinge is, Happye is the chylde, whose father goeth to the Deuyll.

The crie of the poore widdow came to the Emperours eare, and caused him to slay the Iudge quycke, and laied his skynne in hys chayre of Iudgemente, that all Iudges, that shoulde gyue Iudgement afterwarde, shoulde fytt in the same skinne Surely it was a goodly fygne, a goodly monu- ment, the fygne of the Iudges skynne, I praye God we maye once fe the fygne of the skynne in Englande. Ye wyll faye peraduenture that thys is cruellye and vncharitably spoken, no, no, I do it charitably for a loue I bere to my contrye. God fayeth. *Ego uifitabo.*† I wyll visite. God hath two visitations. The fyrste is, when he reueleth

And old soth say, but thoughe the say- inge be none of the newist I feare me yet it is it one of the trwest.

The brybing Iudge was flayed quicke and hys skyn layed in hys chayre.

praye God

Amen. onels we pray god we may haue such incorruptible Iudges as wyll not desyre it.

God hath. ii. vysit[at]ions

* What will ye do in the day of visitation?—Isa. x. 3. † I will visit.—Exod. xxxii. 34.

his word by preachers and where the fyrste is accepted, the seconde commeth not.

The seconde visitation is vengeance. He wente a visitation, when he broughte the iudges skynne ouer hys eares. If hys worde be dispised he commeth wyth hys seconde visitation with vengeance.

Noe preached
Godes
worde an. C.
yeres and
was called
a foole for
hys labour

Noe preached goddes worde an. C. [hundred] yeres, and was laughte to fckorne, and called an olde dotynge sole. Bycause they would not accepte thys fyrste visitation, God visited the second tyme he

poured downe showeres of rayne tyll all the worlde was drowned.

Genesis xix.

Loth was a visitour of Sodome, and Gomorre, but because they regarded not hys preachinge, God visited them the seconde tyme, and brente them all vp wyth brymstone sauynge Loth. Moyfes Exodi: vi. came fyrst a visitation into Egypte with goddes word, and because they woulde not here hym, God visited them agayne, and drowned them in the redde sea, God lykewyse with his first visitation visited ye Israeilitis by his prophetes, but because they woulde not heare his Prophetes, he visited them the seconde tyme, and disperfed them in Affiria and Babylon.

Iohn Baptiste lykewyse and oure Sauoure Christe visited them after warde declarynge to them Goddes wyll, and bycause they despised these visitours, he destroyed Hierusalem by Titus and Vespasianus.

Germany
made a myn-
gle mang'e
of theyr rely-
gion.

Germany was visited. xx. yeres wyth goddes word, but they dyd not earnestlye embrace it, and in lyfe folowe it, but made a myngle mangle and a hotchpotch of it.

I can not tell what, partely poperye, partelye true religion mingeled together. They say in my contrye, when they cal theyr hogges to the fwyne troughe. Come to thy myngle mangle, come pyr, come pyr, euen so they made mingle mangle of it.

They coulde clatter and prate of the Gospell, but when all commeth to al, they ioyned poperye so wyth

it, that they marde all together, they scratched and scraped all the luynges of the churche, and vnder a couloure of relygion turned it to theyr owne proper gayne and lucre. God, seyng that they woulde not come vnto hys worde, now he visiteth them in the seconde tyme of hys visitacion with his wrathe. For the takynge awaye of Goddes word, is a manyfest token of hys wrath. We haue now a fyrst visitacyon in Englande, let vs beware of the seconde. We haue the mynystracyon of hys worde, we are yet well, but the houle is not cleane swepte yet.

Couetousnes
cloked vnder
a couloure of
relygion a-
mongest the
Germaines
prouokyd
Goddes
wrath to-
ward them

God hath sente vs A noble Kyng in thys hys vyfytacion, let vs not prouoke hym agaynst vs, let vs be ware, lette vs not dypleafe hym, let vs not be vnthankfull, and vnkynde, lette vs be ware of bywalkynge and contemnyng of Gods worde, let vs praye dylygently for our kyng, let vs receyue wyth all obedience and praier, the worde of God. A worde or twoo more and I commyte you to God. I wyll monyshe you of a thyng. I heare faye ye walke inordinatelye, ye talke vnsemelye other wayes then it becommeth Christian subiectes.

Godly aduer-
tisementes.

Ye take vpon you to Iudge the Iudgementes of Iudges. I wyll not make the kyng a Pope, for the Pope wyl haue al thynges that he doth, taken for an Article of oure fayth.

I wyl not faye but that the kyng, and hys councill maye erre, the Parliamente houffes both the hyghe and lowe maye erre. I praye dayely that they maye not erre.

It becommeth vs what soeuer they decree to stande vnto it, and receyue it obedyntlye, as farre forthe as it is not manyfeste wycked, and dyrectlye agaynste the woorde of God, it pertayneth vnto vs to thynke the beste, though we can not tender a cause for the doynge of euery thyng.

Let vs learne
here our alle-
gyance and
duty toward
the kyng
the lawe-
es and ordi-
nauces of
the Realme.

For *Charitas omnia credit, omnia sperat.** Charitye dothe beleue and trust al thinges. We ought to expounde to the beste al thynges, althoughe wee canne not yelde a reason.

Therefore I exhorte you good people pronounce in good parte al the facte and dedes of the magistrates and iudges. Charyte iudgeth the best of al men, and specciallye of magistrates. S. Paule sayeth. *Nolite iudicare ante tempus donec dominus aduenerit.*† Iudge not before the tyme of the lordes commynge. *Prauum cor hominis.*‡ Mans hart is vnferchable, it is a ragged pece of worke, no man knoweth hys owne hart, and

Psalm .l. therefore Dauid praiceth and saieth *Ab occultis meis munda me.*§ Delyuer me from my vnknownen faultes. I am a further offender then I can se. A man shalbe blynded in loue of him self, and not se so much in him selfe as in other men, let vs not therefore iudge iudges. We are comptable to god, and so be they. Let them alone, they haue theyr countes to make. Yf we haue charytie in vs we shal do this For *Charitas operatur.* Charitye worketh. What worketh it? marye *Omnia credere, omnia sperare.** to accept al thynges in good part. *Nolite iudicare ante tempus.*†

Iudge not before the Lordes commynge. In this we learne to know Antichrist, whych doth eleuate hym selfe in the churche, and iudgeth at his pleasure before ye time. Hys canonizacions and iudging of men before the lordes iudgment, be a manyfest token of Antichrist. How can he know? Saynctes? He knoweth not hys owne hart, and he can not knowe then by myracles. For some myracle workers shall go to the deuyll. I wil tel you what I remembred yester nyghte in my bed. A meruaylous tale to perceyue, how inscrutable a mans herte is. I was once at Oxford, (for I hadde occayson to come that waye, when I was in my offyce,) they

* [Charity] believeth all things, hopeth all things.—1 Cor. xiii. 7.

† Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come.—1 Cor. iv. 5.

‡ The heart is deceitful above all things.—Jer. xvii. 9.

§ Cleanse thou me from secret faults.—Psa. xix. 12.

tolde me it was a gayner way, and a fayrer waye, and by that occasion I lay ther a nyght. Beyng ther, I hard of an execution that was done vppon one that suffered for treason. It was as (ye know) a dangerous worlde, for it myghte foone cost a man hys lyfe for awordes speakyng.

what he saw
and harde
once at
Oxforde.

I can not tel what the matter was, but the iudge fet it fo out that the man was condemned. The. xii. men came in, and fayed gyltye, and vpon that, he was iudged to be hanged, drawen, and quartred. When the rope was about hys necke, no man coulde perswade hym that he was in anye faute, and stooode there a great whyle in the protestation of his innocency. They hanged hym and cut him down somwhat to foone afore he was cleane deade, then they drewe hym to the fyre, and he reuiued, and then he commyng to his remembraunce confessed his faute, and fayed he was gylty. O a wonderful example, it may well be fayed. *prauum cor hominis et inscrutabile.** A crabbed pece of worke and vnsercheable. I wyll leue here, for I thinke you know what I meane wel ynough.

I shal not neede to applye thys example any further. As I began euer with thys saying *quæcunque scripta sunt*, † like a trouant and so I haue a commune place to the ende, yf my memory fayle me, *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei, et custodiunt illud.* ‡ Blessed be they that here the word of god, and kepe it. It must be kepte in memory, in lyuyng, and in our conuersacion. An yf we so do, we shal come to the blessednes, whych God prepared for
vs thorow his son-
ne Iesus Christ,
to ye which he
bring vs
all.

Amen.

* The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked.
—Jer. xvii. 9.

† Rom. xv. 4.
‡ Luke xi. 28.

The fourth

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whych he prached before
the kynges Maiestye wythin
hys Graces Palaice at
Westminster the
xxix. daye of
Marche.



*Vacumque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** All thinges yat are wrytten, are wrytten, to be our doctrine. The Parable that I toke to begin with (most honorable audience) is wrytten in the. xviii. chapter of S. Luke. and ther is a certayne remnant of it behind yet. The

Parable is this There was a certayne Iudge in a cytye, that feared neyther God nor man.

And in the same cytye there was a wyddowe that requyred Iustyce at hys handes, but he woulde not heare hyr, but putte hyr of and delayed the matter.

In processe the Iudge seyng hyr importunitye, sayed, thoughe I feare neyther God nor manne, yet for the importunitye of the womanne, I wyll heare hyr leaste she rayle vpon me, and moleste me wyth exclamations, and oute cryes I wyll heare hyr matter, I wyll make an ende of it.

Oure Sauyoure Christe added more vnto thys and sayed. *Audite quid iudex dicat. et. cetera.* Heare you sayed Christ, what the wycked Iudge sayed.

And shall not God reuenge hys electe, that crye vpon hym daye and nyghte? Al thoughe he tarye and dyfferre them, I say vnto you, he wyll reuenge

* Rom. xv. 4.

them and that shortelye. But when the sonne of manne shall come, shall he fynd fayth in the earth.*

That I maye haue grace so to open the remnaunte of thys parable that it maye be to the glorie of God, and edifynge of youre soules, I shall desier you to praye. In the whyche prayer. etc.

I shewed you the laste daye, (mooste honourable Audience) the cause why oure Sauoure Christe, rather vsed the example of a wycked Iudge then of a good.

And the cause was for that in those dayes ther was greate plentye of wycked Iudges, so that he myght borrowe an example amonge them well ynoughe. For there was muche scarfitie of good Iudges. I did excuse the wyddowe also for commynge to the Iudge agaynste her aduersary, because she dyd it not of malyce, she dyd it not for appetite of vengeance.

Why Christ vsyd rather the example of a wycked Iudge, then of a good.

And I tolde you that it was good and lawefull, for honeste vertuose folke, for Gods people, to vse the lawes of the realme, as an ordinari helpe agai[n]st theyr aduersaryes, and oughte to take them as Gods holy ordinaunces, for the remedies of theyr iniuryes and wronges, when they are distressed. So that they do it charitiablye loungelye, not of malyce, not vengeably, not couetouslye.

A brefe reher-
sal of thyngs
toched and
spoken of, in
hys thyrde
sermon.

I should haue tolde you here of a certayne secte of heritikes that speake agaynste thys order and doctryne, they wyll haue no magistrates nor Iudges on the earthe.

He meanyth
the Annabap-
tistes, for
thys is one
of theyr dete-
stable and
perniciouse
errores.

Here I haue to tell you, what I hearde of late by the relation of a credible perfon, and a worshypful man, of a towne in thys realme of Englande that hathe aboue. v. C. [five hundred] heritykes of thys erroniouse

* And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith.

And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?

I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?—Luke xviii. 6—8.

Howe busye
the Deuyll is
to hynder
the worde
and sclaunder
the gos-
pel.

The deuyl is
busy sturring
is an euident
argument
that thys doc-
tryne is true.

opinion in it as he sayed. Oh so busye the Deuyll is nowe to hynder the woorde commynge oute, and to sclaunder the Gospell. A sure argumente and an euident demonstration, that the lyght of Gods worde is a brode, and that thys is a true doctryne that we are taught now, else he woulde not rore and styrre a bouthe as he doeth whan he hathe the vpper hande. He wyl kepe hys possession quyetyly as he dyd in the popyshe dayes, whan he bare a rule of supremacye in peaceable possession. If he reigned now in open relygyon, in open doctryne as he dyd than, he woulde not styrre vppe erronyouse opynyons, he woulde haue kepte vs wythout contencion, wythoute dyffencion. There is no fuche dyuerfytie of opynions amonge the Turkes, nor among ye Iewes. And why? For ther he raygneth peaceably in the hole relygion. Christ sayth. *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium. etc.** Whan the stronge armed man kepeth thys house, those thinges yat he hath in po[ss]ession, are in a quietnes, he doeth enioye them peaceably. *Sed cum fortior eo superuenerit.** But whan a stronger than he commeth vpon hym, whan the light of goddes word is ones reueled, than he is busi, then he rores then he fyskes a brode, and styrreth vp erroneus opinions, to sclaunder godds word. And thys is an argumente that we haue the true doctryne. I bes[e]che God continewe vs and kepe vs in it. The dyuell declareth the fame, and therefore he rores thus and goeth a bout to stir vp these wanton headdes and busye braynes. And wyll you knowe where thys towne is? I wyll not tell you dyrectlye. I wyll put you to muse a lyttle. I wyll vtter the matter by a cyrcumloquution. Wher is it? Wher the byshop of the dioces is an vnpreachynge prelate. Who is that? If there be but one

* When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: But when a stronger than he shall come vpon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.—Luke xi. 21, 22.

fuche in al England, it is easi to gefse. And if ther were no mo but one, yet it were to many by one. And yf there be moe, they haue the more to aunfwere for, that they suffer in this realme an vnpreachynge prelacye vnrefourmed. I remember wel what. S. Paule sayeth to a byshop. And thoughe he spake it to Timothe beyng a byshop, yet I may say it now to the magistrates, for al is one case, al is one matter. *Non communicabis peccatis alienis.** Thou shalt not 1 Timothe. v. be partaker of other mennes faultes. Laye not thy handes rashely vpon anye, be not to hasty in makynge of curates, in receyuyng menne to haue cure of Soules that are not worthy of the offyce, that eyther, canne not or wyl not, do theyr dutye. Do it not. Whye? *quia communicabis Peccatis alienis.** Thou shalt be partaker of other mennes finnes. Nowe methinke it nedes not to be partaker of other mens finnes we shal find inough of our owne. And what is. *Communicare peccatis alienis.** To be partaker of other mennes euils, if this be not, to make vnpreachynge prelates, and to suffer them to continue stil in their vnpreachynge pr[e]lacye?

If the kynge and hys counsell should suffer euil Iudges of this realme to take bribes, to defeate iustice and suffer the great, to ouer go the poore, and shoulde loke through his fingers, and wynke at it, should not the kinge be partaker of theyr naughtynes? And why? Is he not supreme head of the church? what? is ye supremacye a dygnitye and nothyng else? is it not a dygnitye wyth a charge? is it not comptable? I thynke it wylbe a chargeable dygnitye whan accompte shal be asked of it. Oh what a vauntage hath the Deuyll? what entrye hath the wolfe whan the shepard tendeth not hys flocke, and leades theym not to good pasture? Saynt Paule doth say *qui bene præfunt præf-* 1 Timothe. v.

Kynges and rulars muste wake and not wynke and leaue lokyng thorow theyr fyngers.

A dignitie wyth a charge.

* Neither be partaker of other men's sins.—1 Tim. v. 22.

*biteri duplici honore digni sunt.** What is thys *Præesse*. It is as much to say as to take charge and cure of foules we say *ille præest*, he is sette ouer the flocke. He hath taken charge vppon hym. And what is To rule wel what it is. *Bene Præesse?* To discharge ye cure. To rule well, to fede the flocke wyth pure foode, and good example of lyfe. Well then, *qui bene præesunt duplici honore digni sunt.**

What is double honour. Thei yat discharge their cure wel are worthy double honour? What is thys double honour? The fyrst is reuerensed, to be had in estimation and reputacion with the people, and to be regarded as good pastours. A nother honoure is, to haue al thynges necessarye for their state, mynistred vnto theym. Thys is the double honour that they ought to haue. *Qui præesunt Bene*, that discharge the cure if they do it *Bene*.

The merye monke of Cambrige. There was a merye moncke in Cambrige in the Colledge that I was in, and it chaunced a greate companye of vs to be together, entendinge to make good cheare, and to be merye (as scholers wyll be mery when they are disposed). One of the company brought out thys sentence. *Nil melius quam lætari et facere bene*. There is nothyng better then to be mery and to do well. A vengeance of that *Bene* (quod the Monke) I would that, *Bene* had bene banished beyonde the sea, and that *Bene* were out, it were well. For I coulde be mery, and I coulde do, but I loue not to do well, that *Bene* marres altogether. I woulde *bene* were out quod the mery monke for it importeth many thynges to lyue well, to dyscharge the cure. In dede it were better for them yf it were out. And it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is. It wyll be a heuy *Bene* to some of them, when they shall come to theyr accompt. But parauenture you wyll saye What and they preache not at all? Yet *præesunt*. Are they not worthy double

* Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour.—
1 Tim. v. 17.

honoure? is it not an honorable ordre they be in? naye a horrible misorder, it is a horror rather then an honoure, and horrible, rather then honourable, if the preacher be naughte, and do not hys dutye. And thusgo these prelates aboute to wreastle for honoure that the Deuyll maye take hys pleatuer in sclaundrynge the realme, and that it maye be reported abrode that we breede, herifyes amonge oure felues. It is to be thoughte that some of them woulde haue it fo, to bring in poperye agayne.

Where the preacher doth not hys duty, ther the order is not honorable, but horryble.

The entente of vnpreachyng prelates.

This I feare me is theyr entente, And it shalbe blowen abrode to oure holye father of Romes eares, and he shall sende forth hys thonderboltes vpon these brutes, and al thys dothe come to passe thorow theyr vnpreachyng prelacye.

Are they not worthy double honore? Nay, rather double dyshonore, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed amonge the people, and to haue no liuyng at their handes? For as good preachers be worthy double honour: so vnpreaching prelates be worthy double dishonore: They muste be at theyr doublets. But now these. ii. dishonoures, what be they? Our sauour christ doth shew. *Si sal infatuatus fuerit ad nihil ultra valet, nisi vt proiciatur foras** If the salte be vnfaurye it is good for nothinge, but to be cast out and troden of men. By thys salte is vnderstande preachers, and such as haue cure of foules. What be they worthy then? wherefore serue they? For nothing elles but to be caste oute. Make them quondammes, out with them, cast them out of ther office, what shuld thei do with cure yat wil not loke to them? An other dishonor is this. *Vt conculcentur ab hominibus.** To be troden under mens fete, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed. They be at theyr doublets styl. S. Paule in hys epistle qualifyeth a bishop, and faith that he must be

An argument of congruens

Math. v.

* Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted? it is thence forth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.- Matt. v. 13.

*Aptus ad docendum, ad refellendum apte.** To teache and to confute all maner of false doctryne. But what shall a man do wyth aptenes, if he do not vse it? It were as good for vs to be wyth out it. A byshop

A byshop angrye wyth M. Latimer and why: because he wolde haue the kynge make of vnprechinge prelates quondammes, dominus regnauit.

came to me the laste daye, and was angry wyth me for a certayne Sermon that I made in thys place.† Hys chaplayne hadde complayned agaynste me because I had spoken agaynste vnpreachinge prelates.

Naye quod the byshoppe, he made so indifferente a Sermon the fyrst daye, that I thoughte he wolde marre all the seconde daye.† He wyll haue euerye man a quondam as he is, As for my quondamshyp I thancke God that he gaue me ye grace to come by it byso honest a meanes as I dyd. I thanke hym for myne owne quondamshyppe, and as for them I wyll not haue theym made quondams yf they dyscharge theyr offyce. I wolde haue theym do theyr dutye. I wolde haue no more quondams as God healepe me. I owe theym no other malyce then thys, and that is none at al.

The bishops answer to his chaplayn.

Thys byshop answered hys chaplayne, well (sayes he) well I dyd wyfely to daie, for as I was goynge to hys Sermon, I remembred me that I had neither sayed masse, nor mattens. And homewarde I gate me as faste as I

A wyse answer of mayster byshop to hys chaplayne.

coulede, and I thanke god I haue sayed both, and let hys vnfruteful Sermon alone. Vnfruteful sayeth one, an other sayeth fedicious. Wel, vnfruitfull is the beste, and whether it be vnfruitfull or no, I can not tell, it lyeth not in me to make it fruitfull. And God worke

Preachers ar Gods instrumentes.

not in your hertes: my preachynge can do you but lyttle good. I am Goddes instrument but for a time. It is he that must giue the encrease, and yet preachynge is necessarye.

For take a waye preachynge, and take a waye saluacion. I tould you of *Scala celi* and I made it a preach-

* Apt to teach.—1 Tim. iii. 2.

† The second sermon: see p. 66.

yngē matter, not a massyng matter. Christ is the preacher of al preachers, the patrone and the exemplar, [t]hat all preachers oughte to folowe. For it was he by whome the father of heauen sayde: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite.** Thys is my welbeloued sonne, heare hym, Euen he when he was here on the earth, as wyfely, as learnedlye, as circumspēctli as he preached, yet hys fede fell in thre partes so that the fourthe parte onelye was fruiteful, and yf he had no better lucke that was preacher of all preachers, what shall we looke for? yet was ther no lacke in hym, but in the grounde: And so now ther is no fault in ye preachyngē, the lacke is in the people that haue stony hertes and thorny hartes. I beseeche God to amend them. And as for these folke that speake against me, I neuer loke to haue theyr goode worde as longe as I lyue. Yet wyl I speak of their wickednes, as long as I shalbe permytted to speake As long as I lyue, I wyl be an enemy to it. No preachers can passe it ouer wyth sylence. It is the originall roote of all myschiefe. As for me I owe them no other yll wyl, but I praye God amende theym, when it pleaseth him. Now to the parable. What dyd the wycked Iudge in the ende of the tale? The loue of god moued hym not, the lawe of god was this, and it is written in the fyrst of Deuteronomye. *Audite eos.*† Heare them. These two wordes wylbe heuye wordes to wycked iudges another daye. But some of them peraduenture wyl fay. I wyl heare them, but I wil heare fuche as wyl geue brybes, and these that wyl do me good tournes. Naye ye be hedged out of that lybertye. He sayth, *Ita paruū vt magnum.*† The smalle as well as the greate. Ye must do *iustum*, deale

Thoughe
Christe pre-
chyd, yet his
sede fell into
thre partes

He returneth
to the Para-
ble.

Deuterono-
mye. 1.

* This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.—Matt. xvii. 5.


† Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall

not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's; and the cause is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it.—Deut. i. 17.

Iustelye? mynister iustice, and that to al men, and you
 Iustice muste be ministered without delays.
 muste do it *iuste*. In tyme conuenient, without any delays, or dryuynge of, wyth expedycion.

Well, I faye, neyther thys lawe, nor the woorde and
 What moued the wicked iudge to heare the complaynt of the wydowe.
 commaundemente of God moued thys wycked Iudge, nor the myserye of thys wyddowe, nor the vpryghteousnes of hys cause, nor the wronge whyche she tooke, moued hym, but to auoyde importunitie, and clamoure, and exclamation, he gaue hyr the hearynge, he gaue hyr fynall sentence, and so she hadde hyr requeste.

Thys place of Iudgement it hathe bene euer vnperfecte, it was neuer sene that all Iudges
 All iudges haue not done dutye at all tymes.
 dyd theyr dutye, that they woulde heare the small as well as the greate. I wyll not proue thys by the wytnes of anye pryuate maiestrate, but by the wyfeste Kynges sayinge that euer was. *vidi sub sole*, saith Salomon *In loco iusticiae, impietatem, et in loco æquitatis iniquitatem.** I haue sene vnder the sunne, that is to say, ouer al, in euery place wher ryght iudgement shoulde haue bene, wickednes, as who should faye bribes takinge, defeatyng of iustice, oppressing of the pore Men sent away with wepyng teares, without anye hearinge of their causes, and in the place of equitie sayth he: I haue sene iniquity. No equity. No iustice a fore worde for Salomon to pronounce vniuersallye, generallye, and if Salomon sayd it, there is a matter in it.

 I wene he sayed it not onely for hys owne tyme, but he sawe it both in those that were before hym, and also that were to come after hym.

Nowe comes Esay and he affyrmeth ye same speaking of the iudgementes done in hys time in the commune place as it myghte be Westminster hall, the gylde hall, the Iudges hall, the pretory house.

* And moreover I saw under the sun the place of judgment, that wickedness was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there.—Eccles. iii. 16.

Call it what you wyll. In ye open place. For iudges at that tyme (accordynge to the maner) late in the gates of the cytye in the hye waye.

Iudges sate in the gates of the cyty in the hye way.

A goodly and Godly order for to fitte, fo that the poore people maye eafely come to them. But what fayeth Esay that feditiouse fellowe? He fayeth of hys countrey this. *Expectaui ut faceret iudicium, et fecit iniquitatem.** I loked the iudges should do theyr dutye, and I saw them worcke iniquitie.

This was done for the ease of ye people, for maiestrates must be indued with affabilitie.

Ther was brybes walking, money makynge, makynge of handes (quod the Prophete) or rather almyghtye God by the Prophete, fuche is theyre parcialitye, affection, and brybes. They be fuche money makers, inhauncers, and promoters of them felues.

There was bribes and bribers as wel then as nowe.

Esaye knewe thys by the crynge of the people. *Ecce clamor populi.** fayeth he. And thoughe some amonge them be vnreasonoble people (as manye be nowe adayes) yet no doubte of it some cryeth not wythoute a cause. And why? Their matters are not hearde, they are fayne to go home with weping teares, that fal downe by theyr chekes, and ascende vp to heauen and crye for vengeance. Let Iudges loke about them, for surelye God wyll reuenge hys elect one daye.

The teares of the pore whose cause is not accordinge to equity and iustice herd, cry for vengeance to God.

And surelye me thynke, yf a Iudge woulde followe but a worldelye reason, and wey the matter politikelye, wythoute these examples of scrypture, he should feare more the hurt that maye be done hym by a poore wyddowe, or a myserable man, then by the greatest Gentyll man of them al. God hath pulled the iudges skines ouer their heades, for the pore manns sake yea, the pore wyddowe maye do hym more hurt wyth hyr poore

An aduertisement to our Iudges.

* He looked for judgment, but behold oppression; for righteousness, but behold a cry.—Isa. v. 7.

pater noster in hyr mouth, then any other weapon, and wyth. ii. or thre wordes shall bryng hym downe to the grounde, and destroye his iolitye, and cause hym to lose more in one day, then he gate in feuen yeres, for God wyll reuenge these miserable folkes, that can not helpe them selues. He sayth. *Ego in die uisitationis etc.** In the daye of uisitation I wyll reuenge theym? *An non ulciscetur anima mea?†* Shall not my soule be reuenged? As who shoulde saye.

I must nedes take theyr part. *Veniens veniam et non tardabo.‡*

Yes though I tary, and though I seme to linger neuer so longe yet I wyl come at lengthe, and that shortely.

And is god spake this, he wil perfourme his promise. He hath for theyr fakes as I tolde you, pulled the skynne ouer the iudges ears or thys.

Dauid was deceyued in putting trust in his iudges when he waxed olde him selfe.

Kynge Dauid trusted some in hys olde age, that dyd hym no very good seruice.

Nowe if in the people of God there were some folkes that fell to brybing, then what was ther amonge the Heathen?

Absalon was a bywalker.

Absalon Dauids sonne was a bywalker, and made a disturbaunce among the people in his fathers tyme.

And thoughe he were a wycked man and a bywalker, yet some there were in that tyme that were good, and walked vpryghtlye.

I speake not thys agaynste the Iudges feate. I speake not as though all iudges were naught, and as though I dyd not holde wyth the Iudges, maiestrates, and offycers, as the Anabaptistes these faulse herytykes do. But I Iudge them honorable, necessary, and Goddes ordinaunce. I speake it as scripture speaketh to giue a *Caueat* and a warnynge to all maiestrates, to cause theym to loke to theyr offyces, for the deuyll, the greate maiestrate, is

Iudges are honorable necessary, and Gods ordinaunces concerning theyr offices.

* Isa. x. 3.

† Shall I not visit for these things? saith the LORD: shall not my soule be avenged on such a nation as this?—Jer. v. 29.

‡ Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.—Hab. ii. 3.

He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 37.

verye bufy nowe, he is euer doynge, he neuer ceafeth to go about to make them like hymfelfe. The prouerbe is. *Simile gaudet simili*. Lyke woulde haue lyke: If the iudg be good and vpryght he wyll affaye to deceaue hym eyther by the subtyll The craft of the deuyll. fuffegtion of crafty lawyers or els by falfe wytnesse, and subtyl vtteryng of a wronge matter. He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of lawe, to make them fal to brybery, to laye burdens on poore mennes backes, and to make them fal to periurye, and to bryng into the place of iudgement al corruption, iniquytie, and impietie. I haue spoken thus much, to occafyon al Iudges and maieftates to loke to theyr offyces. They had nede to loke about them.

This geare moued faint Chryfoftome to fpeake thys fentence. *Mirror fi. aliquis reftorum potest faluari*. I maruaile (faied this doctoure) if anye of these rulers or great maieftates can be faued.

Lest the deuill be behynd them to make them peruerte Iustice.

A notable and bolde saying of Chryfoftome.

He spake it not for the impossibilitie of the thyng (God forbyd that all the maieftates and iudges shoulde be condempned) but for the difficultye.

Oh that a man myghte haue the contemplation of hell, that the deuyll woulde alowe a man to loke into hel, to fe the flate of it, as he shewed al ye world when he tempted Chryft, in the wyldernes. *Commonstrat illi omnia regna mundi.** He shewed him al the kyngedomes of the worlde, and all theyr Math. iiii. iolitye, and toldè hym that he woulde gyue hym all, if he woulde knele downe and worshyp hym. He lyed lyke a faulfe harlot, he could not gyue them he was not able to giue so much as a gofe wyng: for they were none of hys to gyue.

If the deuyll wold allowe a man to loke into hel what he should se.

The tother that he promysed them vnto: had more ryghte to them then he.

* Sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. —Matt. iv. 8.

But I saye if one were admitted to viewe hell thus, and beholde it thorowly, and the deuyl woulde saye.

Vnpreching prelates are wyth the deuyl in hell (God saue vs, but they be not there alone, for brybynge Iudges are wyth them for companye.

He returneth to hys former matter.

On yonder syde are punished vnpreaching prelates, I thynke a man shoulde fe as farre as a kennyng and fe nothyng but vnpreachyng Prelates.

He myghte loke as farre as Calyce I warrant you. And then if he would go on the other side, and shewe wher that brybynge iudges were, I thynke he shold fe so many, that there were scant roume for any other. Our Lord amende it. Well to our matter. This Iudge I speake of, said. Though I feare neyther God, nor man, et.c. And did he thynke as he sayed? Dyd he thyncke thus? Is it ye maner of wicked Iudges to confesse, theyr faultes nay he thought not so.

And a man had come to hym, and called hym wycked, he woulde forth wyth haue commaunded hym to ward, he woulde haue defended hym selfe stoutly.

Whi the iudge was forced then to confesse his faultes.

It was god that spake in hys conscience. God putteth hym to vtter fuche thynges as he sawe in hys herte, and were hydde to hym selfe.

And there be lyke thynges in ye scripture, as. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est deus.** The vnwyse man sayd in his hert, there is no God, and yet if he shoulde haue bene asked the question, he would haue denied it.

Esay the prophet sayeth also. *mendatio protecti fumus.†* We are defended with lyes. We haue put our trust in lyes.

And in an other place he saieth. *Ambulabo in prauitate cordis mei.‡* I wyll walke in the wyckednes of my herte. He vttereth what lyeth in hys herte, not knowne to hym selfe, but to God.

Ezechiel described the herte of man.

It was not for noughte that Ezechiel describeth mannes hert in his colours.

* The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.—Psa. xiv. 1.

† We have made lies our refuge.—Isa. xxviii. 15.

‡ Every one that walketh after the imaginations of his own heart.—Jer xxxiii. 17.

*prauum cor hominis et inscrutabile.** The herte of man is naughty, a croked, and a froward pece of worke. Iere. xvii. Among al thinges man hath.

Let euery man humble hym selfe, and acknowledge hys fault? and do as saynte Paule dyd.

When the people to whome he had preached, had fayed manye thynges in his commendation, yet he durst not iustify him selfe. Paule woulde not prayse hym selfe to hys owne iustification, and therefore when they hadde spoken these thynges by him I passe not all sayth he, what ye faye by me. I wyl not stande to your reporte, and yet he was not froward, that when he heard the trueth reported of hym, he woulde faye it to be false, but he fayed, I wyll neyther stande to your reporte, though it be good and iuste, neyther yet I wyl say that it is vntrue. He was. *Bonus Pastor.*

A good shepeheard. He was one of theym. *qui bene præfunt.*† that dyscharged hys cure, and yet he thoughte that there myghte be a further thyng in hym selfe then he sawe in him selfe.

And therefore he fayed. The Lorde shall Iudge me. I wyll stand onely to the Iudgemente of the Lord. For loke whom he iudges to be good, he is sure he is safe, he is cocke sure.

I spake of thys geare the laste day, and of some I had little thanke for my labour. The truth gettes hatred. I smelled some folkes that were greaued with me for it, bicause I spak against temerarious iudgement? What hath he to do with iudgemente? say they. I went about to kepe you from arrogant iudgemente. Wel I could haue fayed more then I dyd, and I can faye muche more nowe.

For why? I knowe more of my Lorde admirals death sith that tyme, then I did knowe before. O faye they. The man dyed very boldly, he woulde not haue done so, hadde he not bene in a iuste quarell.

* The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked.— Jer. xvii. 9.
† That rule well.— 1 Tim. v. 7.

The argument of such men as thought the Lord admirals cause to be good, because he took hys death so boldli is confuted.

The Anabaptistes howe they toke their death.

Thys is no good argument my frendes. A man semeth not to feare death, therefore hys can fe his good. Thys is a deceauable argumente. He went to hys death boldely, *ergo* he standeth in a iust quarel.

The Anabaptistes that were brente here in dyuers townes in England, as I heard of credible menne (I sawe them not my selfe) went to theyr death, euen *Intrepide*. As ye wyll faye with out any feare in the world chearfully. Well, let them go.

There was in the olde doctoures tymes an other kinde of poysoned heretikes, that were called Donatistes. And these heritikes wente to their execution as thoughe they should haue gone to some iolye recreation or bankct, to some bealye chere, or to a play. And wyll ye argue then? He goeth to hys death boldely, or chearefullye, Ergo he dyeth in a iuste cause Naye that sequell foloweth no more then thys.

A man semes to be a frayed of death, Ergo he dyeth euyl. And yet oure Sauioure Christe was a frayed of death him selfe.

Iudge not them in authority rashly. etc.

Charite is the cognisaunce & badg of a christen man.

I warne you therefore, and charge you not to iudge theym yat be in authoritie, but to praye for them. It becometh vs not to Iudge greate maiestrates, nor to condemne theyr doinges, vnlesse theyr dedes be openly and apparantlye wycked. Charitye requireth the same, for charitye iudgeth no man, but well of euery bodye. And thus we maye trye whether wee haue charitye or no, and if we haue not charitye wee are not Gods disciples, for they are knowen by that badge He that is hys disciple, hath the worcke of charity in hys breast.

It is a worthye sayinge of a clarke. *Charitas si est, operatur, si non operatur, non est.* If there be charity it worketh, *Omnia crede re, omnia sperare.** To beleue

* Believeth all things, hopeth all things.—1 Cor. xiii. 7.

all thinges, to hope al, to say ye best of the maiestrates, and not to stand to the defending of a wicked matter. I wil go farder with you now. If I should haue sayed al that I knewe, youre eares woulde haue yrked, to haue hearde it, and nowe God hathe brought more to lyghte. And as touchyng the kynde of hys death, whether he be faued or no, I referre that to God onely. What God can do, I can tell. I wyl not denye but that he maye in the twynkeling of an eye, faue a man, and turne hys herte. What he dyd I can not tell. And when a man hathe two stokes wyth an axe, whoo can tel that betwene two stokes he doth repente. It is very hard to iudge Well, I wyl not go so nye to worke, but thys I wyl say, if thei aske me what I thinke of hys deathe, that he dyed verye daungerously, yrkesomelye, horryblye.

M. L. said not all yat he knew concernyng the lord admiralles cause.

The man beyng in the tower wrote certayne papers whyche I sawe my selfe. Thei were two lyttle ones, one to my Ladye Maryes grace, and an other to my Ladye Elizabeth grace, tendyng to thys ende, that they shoulde conspyre a gaynste my Lorde protectours grace.

The. ii. lyttle papers which the Lorde admiral wrote in the tower.

Surely so feditioufli as could be. Nowe what a kind of death was thys, that when he was readye to laye his head vpon the blocke, he turnes me to the leuetenauntes seruauante and sayeth.

Byd my seruauante spede the thyng that he wottes of? Wel, the worde was ouer heard.

The wordes he spake to ye leuitenauntes seruauant

Hys seruauante confessed these two Papers, and they were founde in a shooe of hys. They were sown betwene the foules of a veluet shooe. He made his ynke so craftely, and wyth such worke-manship as the lyke hath not bene sene.

I was prifoner in the tower miselfe, and I coule neuer inuente to make ynke so. It is a wonder to heare of hys subtilitie. He made hys pen of the aglet of a poynte that he plucked from hys hose, and thus wrote these letters

The penne of the aglet of a poynt.

foo feditiouslye, as ye haue hearde, enforfyngge manye matters agaynste my Lorde protectours grace, and fo forth. God had leste hym to him selfe, he hadde cleane forsaken hym. What woulde he haue done if he had liued styll? that wente a bout this geare, when he layed hys head on the blocke at the ende of hys lyfe. Charitye (they saye) worketh but Godly, not after thys forte. Well, he is gone, he knoweth hys fare by thys, he is eyther in ioye or in payne. There

There is but two states. The state of saluacion and the state of damnation.

is but two states if we be once gone. There is no chaunge. Thys is the speach of the scripture. *ubicunque lignum ceciderit ibi erit, siue in austrum, siue in aquilone*[m].*

Wherefoeuer the tree falleth, eyther into the southe, or into the north, there it shall rest.

By the fallynge of the tree, is signified the death of man. If he fall into the Southe, he shall be faued.

☞ For the Southe is hote, and betokeneth charitye or saluation. If he fall in the northe in the colde of infidelity, he shal be dampned. There are but two states, the state of saluation, and the state of damnation.

Ther is no repentaunce after thys lyfe, But if he dye in the state of dampnation, he shal rise in the same. Yea, thoughe he haue a whole Monkerye to fyngge for hym. He shall haue hys fynall Sentence when he dyeth.

The seruaunt which vttered the secretes, of the two letters is commended of M. L.

And that seruaunte of hys, that confessed and vttered thys gere was an honest manne. He dyd honestlye in it. God putte it in hys herte. And as for the tother whether he be faued or no I leaue it to God.

But surelye, he was a wycked man, the realme was well rydde of hym.

It hathe a treasure, that he is gone. He knoweth hys fare by thys.

A terrible example fuerlye, and to be noted of euery man. Nowe before he shoulde dye, I heard say he

* If the tree fall toward the south, where the tree falleth, there it shall or toward the north, in the place be.—Eccles. xi. 3.

had commendations to the kynge, and spake manye wordes of hys maieſtye. All is the kynge, the Kynge. Yea *Bona verba*. Theſe were fayre wordes the kynge, the kyng.

The lorde admiral had commendations to the kynge before hys death.

I was trauailed in the tower my ſelfe (wyth the kynges commaundemente, and the counſayle) and there was fyr Roberte Cunſtable, the Lorde Huſſye, the Lord Darfy. And the Lorde Darſye, was tellynge me of the fayethfull ſeruice that he hadde done the kynges maieſtye that dead is.

What the Lord Darſye ſayed to maiſter Latimer in ye tower.

And I had ſene my Soueraygne Lorde in the fylde (ſayd he) and I had ſene hys grace come a gaynſte vs. I woulde haue lyghted from my horſſe, and taken my ſwerde by the poynt, and yelded it into hys graces handes. Mary quod I but in the meane ſeaſon ye played not the parte of a fayethfull ſubiecte in holdyng wyth the people in a commotion, and a diſturbaunce. It hath bene the caſt of al traytours to pretend nothing agaynſte the kynges perſon, they neuer pretende the matter to the kynge, but to other.

The commune caſt of al traytours.

Subiectes maye not reſyſte anye magiſtrates, nor oughte to do nothyng contrarye to the kynges lawes. And therefore theſe wordes, the kyng and ſo forth, are of ſmalle effecte.

The offyce and duty of ſubiectes.

I hearde once a tale of a thinge yat was done at Oxforde. xx. yeres a go, and the lyke hath bene ſene in thys realme as I was enformed of credible perſons, and ſome of them that ſawe it be alyue yet.

A thing yat happened at Oxforde.

There was a prieſte that was robbed of a greate ſomme of money, and there were. ii. or. iii. attached for the ſame robbery and to be bryefe were condemned and broughte to the place of execution. The fyrſte manne, when he was vpon the ladder denied the matter vtterly, and toke his death vpon it that he neuer conſented to the robbery of the prieſte nor neuer knew of it. When he was deade, the ſeconde felowe commeth and maketh

A prieſte robbed of a greate ſomme of money.

his protestation and acknoweledged the faulte, sayinge, that among other greuouse offences that he had done he was accessary to thys robberye and sayeth he, I hadde my parte of it, I crye God mercy so hadde thys felow that dyed before me hys parte. Now who can iudge whether thys felow dyed wel or no? Who can iudge

It is hard to iudge a mans herte.

a mans herte? The one denyed the matter, and the tother confessed it, there is no Iudgyng of suche matters. I haue hearde muche wyckednes of thys manne, and I haue thought oft, Iesu, what wyl worth, what wyl be the ende of thys man?

When I was wyth the byshop of Chechester in warde (I was not so wyth hym, but my frendes might come to me, and talke wyth me) I was

The byshoppes be- stirred them so then, that some of them were neuer so diligent sythe.

desirous to heare of execution done (as ther was eueri weke, some in one place of the citye or other) for there was thre wekes fessions at newgate, and fourthnyghte Sef- sions at the Marshialshy, and so forth.

I was desirous I saie to heare of execution, bycause I loked that my part shoulde haue bene in, I loked euery daye to be called to it my selfe.

The whore yat committed robbery.

Amonge all other I heard of a wanton woman, a naughtye lyuer, a whore, a vayne bodye, yat was ledde from newgate

to the place of execution, for a certaine robberye that she had committed, and she hadde a wycked commu-

M. Latimer exhorteth the kyniges grace that learned men might be appoynted to such as shall suffer and are conuict persons.

nication by the waye. Here I wil take occasion to moue your grace that suche menne as shall be put to death maye haue learned menne to gyue them instruction, and exhortation.

For the reuerence of God when they be put to execution, let them haue instructours, for manye of them are cast away for lacke of instruction, and dye miserably for lacke of good preaching.

This woman I say as she wente by the waye, had

wanton and folyſhe talke, as thys, that if good felowes hadde kept touch wyth hyr, ſhe hadde not bene at thys tyme in that caſe, and amongeſte al other talke, ſhe ſaied, that ſuche a one, and named this manne, hadde hyr maidenheade fyrſte, and herynge thys of hym at that tyme, I loked euer what woulde be hys ende, what woulde be come of hym.

The whores words as ſhe went to execution.

He was a manne the fardeſt frome the feare of God that euer I knewe or heard of in Englande. Fyrſte, he was author of all thys womannes whore-dome. For if he had not had hyr maydenhead, ſhe myghte haue bene married, and become an honeſte womanne, wher as nowe beyng nought wyth hym, ſhee fell afterwarde by that occaſion to other. And they that were nought wyth her, fel to robbery and ſhe folowed, and thus was he author of all thys.

This geare came bi Sequels. Peraduenture thys maye ſeme to be a lyghte matter, but ſurelye it is a greate matter, and he by vnrepentaunce fell frome euyll to worſe, and frome worſe, to worſte of all, til at the length he was made a ſpectacle to all the worlde. I haue hearde ſaye, he was of the opinion that he beleued not the immortalytye of the ſoule that he was not ryght in yat matter. And it mighte well appeare by the takynge of hys death. But ye wyll ſaye. What ye ſclaunder him, ye breake charitye.

Nay it is charitye that I do. We canne haue no better uſe of hym nowe, then to warne other to beware by hym.

Chriſt ſaith *Memores eſtote uxoris Loth.** Remembre Lothes wife? She was a woman that wold not be content with hir good ſtate, but wreſteled wyth Gods callynge, and ſhee was for that cauſe turned into a falte ſtone, and therefore the ſcripture doeth name hir as an example for vs to take hede by. Ye ſhall ſe alſo in the ſecond Epiflle of ſaint Peter the ſeconde

Lottes wyfe is our example to content our ſelues with our ſtate.

* Remember Lot's wife.—Luke xvii. 32.

Chapter, howe that God almyghtye spared not a
 God spared not hys aun-
 gellis.
 The whole worlde was
 drowned, Sodom and Go-
 mor was burnte and all for
 our example.
 Gene. xviii.

number of hys Aungels, whiche had synned
 againste hym to make them examples to
 vs to beware by. He drowned the whole
 world in the time of Noe and destroyed
 for synne the cities of Sodome and Go-
 morhe and why? *Fecit eos exemplum iis
 qui impii forent acturi.** He made them
 an example to them that would do
 wyckedlye in tyme to come. If God would not spare
 them, thynke ye he wyll fauour vs? Thus maye
 thys man be an example to vs. Let vs al subiectes
 iudge wel of our magistrates, in suche
 matters and be contente wyth their
 doynges, and loke not to be of the coun-
 faile.

An exhortation
 to al subiects
 not to mur-
 mur, misiudg
 nor repyne a-
 gaynste the
 kinges proce-
 dynges.

And thus toke I occasion to speake of
 him, and to profyt you therbi, and I besech
 you so to take it. He may be a good warnynge to
 vs, and this is the best vse that we can haue of him
 nowe.

I wil go on a word or two, in the applicacion of the
 parable, and then I wyll make an ende. To what
 ende, and to what purpose broughte Chryste thys
 parable of the wycked iudge.

To what end
 ye parable of
 the wycked
 iudge tendeth.

The ende is, that we shoulde be con-
 tinually in prayer. Prayer is neuer inter-
 rupte but by wickednes. We must ther-
 fore walk orderly, vpryghtly, callyng vpon God in
 all oure troubles, and aduersityties, and for thys pur-
 pose there is not a more comfortable lesson in all the
 scripture, then here now in the lappynge vp of the mat-
 ter. Therefore I wyll open it vnto you. You mise-
 rable people, if there be any here amongest you, that
 are oppressed with greate men and can get no healpe,
 To whom in I speake for youre comfort, I wil open

* And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha into ashes condemned *them* an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly.—2 Pet. ii. 6.
them with an overthrow, making

vnto you, whyther ye shall resort, when ye be in any distres. Hys good wyll is redy alwayes at hande, when so euer we shall cal for it. And therefore he callis vs to hym selfe. We shall not doubt if we come to him. Marke what he sayth to cause vs beleue that oure praiers shall be hearde. *Et deus non faciet vindictam.** He reasons after thys fashyon. Wyl not GOD, fayeth he, reuenge hys electe? and heare thei.n? seyng the wycked iudge heard the wydowe? He semeth to go plainely to worcke, he willeth vs to praye to God, and to none but to God. We haue a maner of reasonyng in the scholes, and it is called *A minore ad maius*. From the lesse to the more, and that maye be vfed here. The iudge was a tirante, a wicked man, God is a patrone, a defender, a father vnto vs. If the iudge then, beyng a tyrante, woulde here the poore wyddowe, muche more God wyll here vs in all distresses. He beyng a father vnto vs, he wyll heare vs soner, then the other beyng no father, hauyng no fatherly affection. Moreouer, God is naturallye mercyful.

The iudge was cruel, and yet he healped the wydowe, muche more then God wyl help vs at oure nede.

He fayeth by the oppressed. *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione.†* I am with hym in hys trouble. Hys trybulacion is myne.

I am touched wyth hys trouble. If the Iudge then beyng a cruell man hearde the wyddowe, muche more GOD wyll healpe vs, being touched wyth oure affection. Furthermore, thys iudge gaue the wydowe, no commaundemente to come to him, we haue a commaundement to resort to GOD for he faieth: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis: ‡* call vpon me in the daye of thy tribulacion, whych is as well a commaundemente, as *Non furaberis.§* Thou shalt not steale.

dystresse & oppresyon we shall resort.

An argument from the lesse to the more.

We haue a commaundement to resort to god.

* And shall not God avenge his own elect?—See text at p. 103.

† I will be with him in trouble.—Psa. xci. 15.

‡ Call upon me in the day of trouble.—Psa. l. 15.

§ Thou shalt not steal.—Ex. xx. 15.

He that spake the one, spake the other : And whatfoeuer he be that is in trouble, and calleth not vpon God, breaketh hys commaundemente. Take hede therefore. The iudge dyd not promyse the wydowe helpe, God promysed vs help, and wyl he not perfourme it? He wyll, he wyl. The Iudge (I fay) did not promyse the wyddowe healpe. God wil geue vs both hearing and helpynge. He hath promysed it vs wyth a dubble othe. *Amen, amen*, sayth he, verely, verely, he doubles it.

*Quaecumque petieritis etc.** whatfoeuer ye shall axe in my name, ye shal haue it. And thoughe he put of some synner for a tyme, and suffer hym to byte on the brydell, to proue hym (for there be many begynners, but fewe continewars in prayer) yet we maye not thyncke that he hath forgotten vs, and wyl not healpe vs. *Veniens veniet, et non tardabit.†* When the healpe is mooste nedefull, then he wyll come and not tarye. He knoweth when it shalbe best for vs to haue healpe, though he tary he wyl come at the last. I wyll trouble you but halfe a quarter of an hour, in the application of the parable, and so commyt you to God.

What should it meane that god would haue vs fo dilygent and earnest in prayer? Hath he such pleasure in our worckes? Many talke of prayer, and make it a lyplabourynge. Praying is not babling, nor praying is not monkerye.

It is to miserable folke that are oppressed a conforthe, solace, and a remedy.

But what maketh oure prayer to be acceptable to God? It lyeth not in our power. We must haue it by an other meane.

Remembre what God sayed of his sonne: *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui.‡* This is my dear son in

* Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do.—John xiv. 13.

† He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 37.

‡ This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.—Matt. xvii. 5.

whom I delyte. He hath pleafure in nothyng, but in hym.

How cometh it to paffe then, that oure prayer pleafeth God. Oure prayer pleafeth God, because Chryft pleafeth God.

When we praye, we come vnto hym, in the confydence of Chryftes merytes, and thus offerynge vp oure prayers, they fhall be heard for Chryftes fake. Yea, Chryfte wyl offer them vp for vs, that offered vp once hys Sacryfyce to God, whych was acceptable, and he that commeth wyth anye other meane then thys, god knoweth hym not.

This is not the miffal Sacrifice, the popifhe facryfyce to ftand at the aultare, and offer vp Chryft agayne. Oute vpon it, that euer it was vfed.

M. L. cryeth out vpon the popysh masse.

I wyl not fay naye, but that ye fhall fynde in the olde doctores thys word *Sacrificium*, but there is one generall folution for all the doctours that S. Auguftyne fheweth vs.

The folution of S. Auguftyne vpon thys word sacrificie.

The fygne of a thyng hath often times the name of ye thing that it fignifieth. As the fupper of the Lorde is the Sacrament of an other thyng, it is a commemoration of his death whych fuffered once for vs, and because it is a figne of Chryftes offering vp, therefore it beares the name therof. And thys Sacryfyce a woman can offer as well as a man. Yea, a poore woman in the belfre: hath as good authoritie to offer vp thys facryfyce, as hath the byfhop in his *pontificalibus*, with his myter on his head, hys ringes on his fyngers, and Sandales on hys fete. And whofoeuer commeth asking the father remedy in hys neceffyty for Chryftes fake, he offereth vp as acceptable a facryfyce as any byfhop can do. And fo to make an ende.

Thys muft be done wyth a conftaunte fayeth, and a fure confydence in Chryfte. Fayeth, Fayeth is all fayeth, fayth. We are vndone for lacke together. of fayeth. Chryfte nameth fayth here, Fayeth is al-

together. When the sonne of man shall come, shall he fynde fayth on the earthe? Why speaketh he so muche of faythe? because it is harde to fynde a true faythe. He speaketh not of a politicall fayth, a faythe fet vp for a tyme, but a constant, a permanent, a durable faythe, as durable as goddes word. He came many tymes. Fyrste in the tyme of Noe, when he preached, but he founde lytle fayth. He came also when Loth preached, when he destroyed Sodome and Gomorhe.

But he founde no fayth, and to be shorte he shall come at the latter daye, but he shall fynde a lytle fayth. And I wene the daye be not farre of, and when he was here carnallye dyd, he fynde anye faythe? Manye speake of faythe, but fewe ther be that hath it.

Chryste mourneth the lacke of it. He complayneth that when he came, he founde no fayth.

Thys fayth is a great state, a Ladye, a great state & a Dutches, a greate womanne, and she hath euer a great compane and trayne about her (as a noble state ought to haue) fyrste she hath a Gentilman vssher that goth before her, and where he is not, there is not Lady fayth.

This Gentilman vssher is called *Agnitio peccatorum*, knoweledge of syn, when we enter into our hert, and acknowledge our faultes, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these wynkers, he kyckes not when he heares hys fault. Nowe as the Gentilman vsshere goth before her, so she hath a trayne that cometh behynde her, and yet thoughe they come behynde, they be all of faythes compane, they are all wyth her, as Chryste when he counterfayted a state goyng to Hierusalem, some wente before him, and some after, yet all were of his company, so al these wayte vpon fayeth. She hath a greate trayne after her besydes hyr Gentyلمان vssher, her whole houshold, and those be the workes of our vocation,

Fayth is a
great state & a
Dutches.

Knowledge
of synne is
gentle man
vssher to La-
dy fayth.

Fayth hath a
trayne after
her & they are
the workes of
our vocation.

when euerye man confydereth what vocation he is in, what calling he is in, and doeth the worckes of the fame, as to be good to hys neighbour, to obey God etc.

This is the trayne that foloweth Lady Fayeth, as for an exemple. An vnfaythful Iudge hath fyrste an heauye rekenye of his faulte, repentyng him self of his wickednes, and then forsaketh his iniquytie, hys impeietie, feareth no man, walkes vpryght, and he that doeth not thus, hath not Ladye fayth, but rather a boldnes of synne, and abusinge of Christes passion. Ladye faieth is neuer withoute hyr Gentyl-

Fayth is no ankres she hath many a attendante vpon hyr parson.

man vs here, nor wyth out hyr trayne, shee is no Anckres, she dwells not alone, shee is neuer a pryuate woman, she is neuer alone, and yet many therbe that boft them selues that they haue fayth, and that when Christe shall come they shall do well ino[u]gh. Nay naye, these that be fayethfull shal be so fewe, that Christ shal skarce se them. Manye there be that runnes fayeth Saynte Paule, but there is but one that receyueth the rewarde, it shall be wyth the multytude when he shall come, as it was in the tyme of Noe, and as it was in the tyme of Loth.

In the tyme of Noe, they were eatynge and drynkyng, buyldynge plantynge, and sodaynely the water came vpon them, and drowned them :

The sodeyn comynge of ye Lord in the tyme of Noe and Loth.

In the tyme of Lothe also, they weare eatynge and drynkyng. etc. And sodenlye the fyre came vpon them, and deuoured them. And nowe we are eatynge and drynkyng. There was neuer suche buyldynge then, as is nowe, plantynge, nor maryng. And thus it shallbe euen when Christe shall come, at the Iudgemente.

Is eatynge and drynkyng and maryng, reproued in scripiture? Is it not? Naye he reproued not al kynd of eatynge and drynkyng, he muste be other wayes vnderstand.

If the scripiture be not trulye expounded wha is

more erroneous? And though there be complay[n]inges of some eatynge or drynkyng in the scripture yet he speaketh not as though all were nought.

They maye be wel ordered, they are
what eatynge and drinking is allowed and what is dyscommended. Goddes allowaunce, but to eate and drynke as they dyd in Noes tyme, and as they dyd in Lothes tyme. Thys eatynge and drynkyng, and marynge is spoken agaynste. To eate and drinke in the forgetfulnes of goddes commaundement, voluptuously, in excesse and glotonnie, this kinde of eatynge and drinkyng is nought, when it is not done moderatly, soberly, and
What kynde of mariing is reprovod worthely. with al circumspection. And lykewyse to marrye for fleshelye luste, and for ther owne fantasye. Ther was neuer suche marrynge in Englande, as is nowe. I here tell of
Stealyng of wardes, nay rather of landes. stealyng of wardes to marye thy chyldren to. This is a straunge kynde of stealyng but it is not the wardes, it is the landes that they steale. And some ther be that knyt vp mariages to gether not for any loue or Godlines in the parties, but to get frensheppe, and make them stronge in the realme, to encrease their possessions and to ioyne lande to lande. And other there be that enuegle mennes daughters, in the contempte of theyr fathers, and go aboute to marrye them wythoute theyr consente. Thys marrynge is vngodlye, and manye parentes constrayne theyre sonnes and daughters to marrye where they loue not, and some are beaten and compulsed. And they that marye thus, marrye in a forgetfulnes and obliuiousnes of goddes commaundementes. But as in the tyme of Noe, sodenlye a clappe fell in theyr bosomes, so shall it be wyth vs at the latter daye when Christe shall come. We haue as lytle conscyence as maye be, and when he shal come, he shal lacke Lady

Another kinde of marriage and all naught.

The inueglers of mens doughters ar[e] notyd.

The parentes whych forse theyr chyldren to marri whom they loue not are worthelye reprehendyd.

A daye wyll come shall paye for all.

I feare it be to lytle wyth some men, that

Fayeth, wel is them that shalbe of that lytle flocke, that shall be set on the righte hande. etc. a man can neither fele it nor yet se it.

I haue troubled you longe, partelye beyng out of my matter, partelye beyng in. But now I wyl make an ende. I begane wyth thys text. *Quæcunque scripta sunt. etc.** So wyl I ende now for myne owne ease, as an olde treuaunte wyth thys sentence. *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei etc.†*

Blessed are they that heare the worde of God, and kepeth it. I tolde you in the begynning of thys Parable of *Bene. Nil melius quam lætari et facere.* If I had ceased ther all hadde benne wel, quod the merye Moonke, so blessed are they that heare the worde of God. But what foloweth? and kepe it.

Our blessednes commeth of the kepyng. It hanges all on the ende of the tale, in crediting and assentyng to the woorde, Our blessednes commeth of the kepyng

and folowyng of it. And thus

we shal begyn oure blessed

nes here, and at the

length we shal

come to

the

bleffynge that neuer shal

haue ende, whych

God graunt

both you

and me,

Amen.

* Rom xv. 4.

† Luke xi. 28.

[The fiftte

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whyche he preached before
the kynges Maiestye wvthin
hys Graces Palaice at
Westminster the
fifte daie of
April.



*Væcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges yat are wrytten, thei are wrytten, to be oure doctrine. What doctrine is wrytten for vs in the parable of the Iudge, and the wyddowe, I haue opened it to you, moſte honorable audience.

Some thinge as concerning the Iudge, I woulde wyſhe and praye, that it myghte be a lytle better kept in memorye, that in the ſeate of Iuſtyce, no more iniquitie and vnryghtuouſnes, myght raygne.

Thys I feare me is ſooner wyſhed then often ſene but yet let vs prai

Some can ſpel and ſpy oute lande and put together faſte inough, but when they read or heare a good leſſon, that commith in at one eare and goeth out at the other

Better a lytle wel kept, then a greate deale forgotten. I wold the Iudges woulde take forth theyr leſſon, that there myghte be no more iniquitye vſed, nor brybe-takyng, for if there ſhall be brybyng, they knowe the peryl of it, they knowe what ſhal followe. I wolde alſo they ſhoulde take an example of this Iudge that dyd faye, not that that he thought hym ſelfe, but our ſauoure Chriſt puttes him to faye that thyng, that was hid vnto him ſelfe.

Wherefore I wold ye ſhoulde kepe memorye, how vn ſearcheable a mans hert is. I woulde ye ſhoulde remembre the fall of the Angels, and beware thereby, the fall of the olde worlde, and beware therby.

Marke ma-

The fal of Sodome and gomorhe, and be-

* Rom. xv. 4.

ware therby. The fall of Lothes wyfe, and beware thereby. The fall of the manne that suffered of late, and beware therbye.

ny caueates
and beware-
byes.

I woulde not that miserable folke should forget the argument of the wycked Iudge, to induce them to prayer, whyche argumente is thys.

The argu-
ment of the
wycked iud-
ges shuld in-
duce vs to
prayer.

If the Iudge beyng a tyraunte, a cruell man, a wycked man, whych did not call hir to hym, made hir no promise, nor in herynge nor helpynge of hir cause, yet in the ende of the matter for the importunityes sake dyd helpe hyr, muche more almighty god which is a father who beareth a fatherlye affection, as the father doeth to the chyld, and is naturallye mercifull, and calleth vs to him wyth hys Promise that he wyll heare them that call vpon hym, that be in distres and burdened with aduerfitie. Remembre this. You knowe where to haue youre remedy.

You by youre prayer can worcke greate efficacye. And your prayer wyth teares is an instrument of great efficacy. It canne brynge many thynges to passe. But what thinge is that, that maketh

What maye
be wrought by
prayer.

oure prayer acceptable to god? is it oure bablyng? No, no. It is not oure babbling nor oure long prayer. There is an other thyng then it.

What ma-
keth our pra-
yer accepta-
ble to God

The dygnitie and worthines of our wordes, is of no such vertue. For whofoeuer resorteth vnto God, not in the confidence of hys own merites, but in the sure truste of the deseruinge of oure Saiuour Iesus Chryste, and in hys passyon.

Whofoeuer doeth inuocate the father of heauen, in the truste of Christes merites, whyche offerynge is the most comfortable and acceptable offerynge to the father. Whofoeuer I saye offereth vp Christe, whyche is a perfecte offerynge, he can not

Our prayer
pleaseth God
for Christes
sake when we
distrust oure
own merites
and trust in
hys deseruin-
ges.

be denied the thing he defyareth, so that it be expedyent for hym to haue it. It is not the bablyng of oure lippes, nor dignitie of oure wordes, but the prayer of the herte is the offerynge that pleaseth thorowe the

onely meanes of hys sonne. For oure prayer profyteth vs bycause we offer Christe to hys father.

In all our praye[r]s we muste brynge a present with vs to god and marke wel who it is,

Whosoever resorteth to god wyth out Christ, he resorteth in vayne. Our prayer pleaseth, because of Iesu Christ, whom we offer. So that it is fayth, fayth, fayeth, is the matter, It is no prayer that is wythout fayth, it is but a lyppe labouring, and monkery wythout fayth. It is but a lytle bablynge.

I spake also of lacke of fayth, and vpon that also I fayed, the ende of the worlde is neare at hande, For ther is lacke of faith nowe. Also the defection is come and swaruinge from the fayth. Antichriste the man of synne, the sonne of iniquity is reueiled, the latter daye is at hande. Let vs not thynke hys commynge is farre of. But when foeuer he cometh he shall fynde

Coniectures why the ende of the worlde is supposed to be neare at hande.

As much wickednes vsyd in oure tyme as euer was in the time of Noe

iniquitye inough, let him come when he wil What is nowe behinde? we be eatynge and drynckynge as they were in Noes tyme, and Mariynge I thyncke as wyckedly as euer was. We be buildynge, purchachinge, planting in the contempte of Gooddes worde. He maye come shortlye when he wyll, for there is so much mischief and swaruyng from the fayeth

M. Latimer returneth to hys former question and to the dissolution of the same.

Wether Godds people maye be gouerned by a kyng or no.

The kynges of the Jewes were elected and chosen of God.

(raynynge nowe in oure dayes) as euer was in anye age. It is a good warnynge to vs all to make readye agaynste hys commynge, Thys lyttle reheresfall I haue made of the thynges I speake in my last sermon. I wyll nowe for thys daye retourne to my question and dissolue it, whether goddes people maye be gouerned by a gouernoure that bereth the name of a kyng or no. The Iewes hadde a lawe that when they shoulde haue a kyng they shoulde haue hym accordynge to the election of god, he would not leaue the election of a kyng to theyr owne braynes. There be some busy braynes, wantton wyttes, that faye, the name of a kyng is an odyouse

name and wrieth this text of the scripture, i. Regu. viii. wher god semeth to be angrye and displefed with the Ifralites for askyng a kyng expounding it very euill and odiously. As who wold fay a king were an odiouse thyng. I comminge ridinge in my way, and calling to remembraunce wherfore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach afore ye kyngs maiesti I thought it mete to frame my preching according to a king. Mufyng of thys I remembred miselfe of a boke that came from Cardinall Pole, maister Pole the kynges traytor, whyche he sent to the kynges maiestye. I neuer remember that man me thyncke, but I remember hym wyth a heauye herte, a wyttie man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in faouere that if he had taried in the realme, and woulde haue conformed hym selfe to the Kynges procedynges, I hearde faye, and I beleue it verelye, that he hadde bene Byshop of Yorcke at this day. To be a bidden by, he wold haue done muchegood in that parte of the Realme. For those quarters haue all wayes had greate nede of a learned man, and a preachyng prelatte. A thyng to be muchelamented that fuche a man shoulde take fuche a waye. I here faye he readeth muche Sayncte Ieromes workes, and is wel sene in them. But I woulde he woulde followe fayncte Ierome, wher he expoundeth thys place of scripture.

*Exite de illa populus meus.** All mightie god faieth. Get you from it, get you from Rome, he calles it, the purple hore of Babilon. It had bene more commendable to go from it, then to come to it. What his sayings be in his boke, I do not well remember, it is in the farthest ende of my

memorye. He declareth hym selfe in it, to haue a corrupte iudgemente, I haue but a glym-

Oure preachyng must be framed accordyng to the persons before who[m] we preache.

C. Pole the kynges traytor, a traytor agaynste kynde and nature.

M. Latimer lamentes the defection of C. Pole and the breche of hys allegiaunce to hys lyege and Royale kyng.

They nede as greatly at thys daye as euer they did.

Cardinal Pole vsyth (they saye) to rede muche Saint Ieromes woorkes.

Rome is called of Ierome the purple hoore. of Babilon

He meaneth of the booke that C. Pole

* My people, go ye out of the midst of her.—Jer. li. 45.

dyd sende to
the kynge.

The scope
or state of
the boke, ten-
des to dys-
uade the kin-
ge from hys
supremecye.

Spoken like
a Cardinal
who may lie
by autorite
because he
dwelleth at
Rome.

meringe of it Yet in generally, I remember the scope of it. He goeth aboute to diffuade the kynge from his supremicie. In his perswasions he is very whomlye, veyre quycke and sharpe wyth the Kynge as these Cardinals wyll take well vpon theym. He sayeth that a kynge is an odiouse worde, and touched the place how god was offended with the Israeletes for calling for a kynge.

Veryelyghtly he femeth to fette forth the title of a kynge. As thoughe he shoulde meane: what is a Kynge? What shoulde a Kynge take vpon hym to redresse matters of religion? It pertayneth to oure holy father of Rome. A kynge is a name and a title rather suffered of God as an euell thyng, then alowed as a good thyng.

Callynge thys to remembraunce, it was an occasion that I spake altogether before. Nowe I wyll answer to thys. For the answer I muste somewhat rypppe the eyght Chapter of the fyrst boke of the Kynge. And that I mai haue grace, etc.



O come to ye opening of this mater. I must begyne at the begynning of the Chapter, that the vnlerned (although I am sure, here be a greate many well learned) maye the better come to the vnderstandinge of the matter. *Factum est cum senuisset Samuel i. Regu. viii. fecit filios suos iudices populo.** etc. It came to passe when Samuell was stricken in age, he made hys sonnes Iudges ouer Israell. Of Samuell I might feche a processe a far of, of ye storye of Elcana, who was hys father, and who was hys mother, Elcana hys father had two wyues, Anna and Phennenna, and dyd not stynt them awaie, as men do nowe adayes. Ther was debate betwene these two wyues. Phennenna in the doing of sacryfyce, embayded Anna bycause she was barren, and not fruitfull.

A taunt (by
the waye) to
suche as vse
vnlawful di-
uorcement.

* And it came to pass, when sons judges over Israel.—1 Sam. Samuel was old, that he made his viii. 1.

I might take here occasion to entreate of the dutye betwene man and wyfe, whiche is a holy religyon, but not religiouslye kepte. But I wyll not enter into that matter at thys tyme. Well, in proceffe of tyme, God made Inna fruitfull, thorowe hyr deuoute prayer. She broughte forth Samuell, whoe by the ordinaunce of God, was made the hyghe pryeste. Father Samuell a good man, a singular example, and singular patron, a manne alone, fewe suche men as father Samuell was. To be shorte he was nowe come to age, he was an old man, an impotente man, not able to go from place to place to minister iustice, he electes and chofes two suffraganes, two coadiutours, two cohelpers, I meane not hallowers of belles, nor Christiners of belles, that is a popysh suffraganship, he made them to healde hym, to dyscharge his office, he chose hys two sonnes rather then other, because he knewe them to be wel broughte vp in vertue, and learnynge, It was not for anye carnall affection, he cared not for hys renowne, or reuenewes, but he appoynted them for the ease of the people, the one for to supply hys place in Bethsabe, and the other in Bethlem.

Anna of barren made fruitful and mother to Samuel.

Samuell beinge aged chose to hym two suffraganes to assyst hym in hys offyce.

made them chose hys

Why he chose hys owne two sonnes rather then any other

Samuel tenderynge the ease of hys people appoynted two offycers.

As we haue now in England, for the wealthe of the Realme, two Lordes presidentes, Surelye, it is wel done, and a goodly order, I wold ther were a thyrd in an other place.

A third Lord presydent wold do wel

For the ease of hys people, good father Samuell, and to discharge hys offyce in places wher he coulde not come hym selfe, he sette hys twoo sonnes in offyce wyth hym, as hys suffraganes, and as hys Coadiutoures.

Here I myght take occasion to treate what olde and impotente Byshoppes should do, what olde preachers should do, when they come to impotency, to ioine wyth them preachers preachers, not Belhalowers, and to departe, parte of theyre luyngge wyth theym.

What the impotent and olde byshoppes shoulde do when they are not able to susteyne the trauayle and paynes

I myghte haue dylated this matter at

of preaching large. But I am honestely preuented of thys commune place, and I am verye glad of it.

There are to many suche fleshe feders

It was very well handeled the laste Sondaye. They that wyl not for the offyce sake receyue other, regarde more the fleshe then the flocke.

Father Samuel, regarded not hys reuenewes. Our Amen, Lorde gyue them grace to be affected as he was, and to followe him. etc. Thoughe I faye that I would wishe mo Lorde presidentes. I meane not

M. Latimer woulde not haue byshoppes and prelates Lord presidentes.

The office of a presidentshyp is a ciuyll offyce and occupieth a man wholly.

that I woulde haue prelates, Lordes presidentes, nor that Lorde byshoppes shall be Lorde presydentes. As touchynge that, I fayed my mynde and conscience the last year.* And al thoughe it is fayed, *Præsumt*, it is not mente that they should be Lorde presidentes, the offyce of a Lorde presidenshyp is a ciuyll offyce, and it canne not be that one manne shall dyscharge bothe. Wel, it followeth in the texte. *Non ambulauerunt filii eius in uis eius, etc.*† Hys sonnes walked not in hys wayes, heare is the matter, here ye fe the goodnes of Samuell, howe, when he was not able to take the paynes him selfe for theyr owne ease, he appoynted them Iudges neare them as it were in the further partes of hys Realme, to haue Iustyce ryghtly ministered. But what folowed.

Thoughe Samuell were good, and hys chyldrene well brought vppe, looke what the world can do? Ah crafty world? Whome shall not thys worlde corrupte and deceyue at one tyme or other?

The worlde wyl corrupt and deceyue vs or we be ware of it the dyuell is so crafty and lucre is so swete.

Samuel thoughte hys sonnes shoulde haue proued well, but yet Samuels sonne walked not in theyr fathers waye. Why? what then? Is the sonne alwayes bounde to walke in the fathers waye?

* [According to the old reckoning, the *Sermon on The Ploughers* (see references to this subject at pp. 27—29 of Ed. 1868) preached on 18th Jan., 1549, would by Latimer, preach-

ing on 5th April following, be then referred as in 'the laste yeare' (old style.)]

† His sons walked not in his ways. —1 Sam. viii. 3.

No, ye muste not take it for a generall rule. All sonnes are not to be blamed in theyre fathers wayes.

Ezechias dyd not folowe the steppes of his father Ahaz, and was well allowed in it. Iofias the beste kyng that euer was in Iewry, refourmed hys fathers wayes, who walked in worldly policie.

In hys youth, he toke a waye all Idolatrye, and purdged hys Realme of it, and fet a good order in al his Dominions, wrestled with Idolatrye.

And although he hys father or hys grande father Manasses (it makes no matter whether) repented hym in the ende he had no tyme to refourme thynges, he left it to hys sonne to be done.

Iofias beganne and made an alteracion in hys chyldehode, he tourned al vpsydowne, he would suffer no Idolatrye to stand.

Therefore, you must not take it for a general rule, that ye sonne muste euer walke in his fathers wayes.

Here I wyll renewe, that whyche I sayed before of the styfnecked Iewes, the rebellious people (that is theyr tittle) they neuer spake so rebelliouslye, as to saye, they woulde not receyue any alteracion, tyll theyr kyng came to age. Muche lesse we Englyshe men, if (there be anye fuche in Englande) maye be ashamed.

I wonder wyth what conscience folke can heare fuche thynges and allowe it.

Thys Iofias made a notable alteration, and therefore take it not for a general rule, that the sonne shall alwayes walke in hys fathers wayes.

Thynke not because he was slayne in battayle, that God was displeased wyth hym. For herein God shewed hys goodnes to hym wonderfullie, who woulde not suffer hym to fe the captiuite that he would bringe vpon the Israelites. He would not

The sonne is not alwayes bounden to walke in the fathers, wayes.

Ezechias did not follow the steppes of his father Ahaz.

iii. Re. xviii. Iosyas refourmed the wayes of hys father Amon
iiii. Re. xxii. and. xxiii.

He was but eygth yeare olde when he beganne to Raygne.

We are more styfneckyd more rebellious and sturdier then the Iewes.

Thys is no rule to reken vppon.

Iosias was slayne in battayle of Pharaoh Necho kyng of Egypt at Magydo.
iii. Reg. xiii.

hym to haue the fyght, the fealyng, and the beholdyng of hys plage, he suffered hym to be taken away before, and to be slayne of the kynge of Egypt.

Wherefore a iuste man muste be glade when he is taken from misery. *Iustus si morte præoccupatus fuerit in refrigerio erit.** If a iuste man be preuented wyth deathe, it shal be to hys relyefe. He must thynke that he is one of those, whome the worlde is not worthy to haue, it came of a singlar goodnesse of god, that he was by death delyuered frome the fyght of that captiuitie. Therefore take it not for a general rule, that the sonnes be alwaies bounde to walke in the fathers wayes.

Nolite in præceptis patrum uestrorum incedere.† Walke not in the commaundementes of youre fathers. For so it is sayed in another place of scrypture. It is spoken to the reproche of Samuels sonnes that they walked not in hys waye, for he was a good man.

A wonderful thyng that these chyldeyn beyng so well brought vp should so fal and be corrupte, Yf the dyuell can preuayle and hath power agaynste them, that had so Godlye education, what vauntage hath he at them yat be brought vp iniquitie and couetousnes? It is a Prouerbe that *magistratus uirum commonstrat.*

Authoritye
and offyce
tryeth what
a man is.

Thys hathe
bene often
tymes vere-
fied and sene
in prechers,
before they
were byshop-
pyd or benefi-
ced.

ulus.‡

Do as the
most do, and
the fewest
shal wonder
at theym.

Office and authoritye sheweth what a man is. A man knoweth not hym selfe, tyl he be tryed. Many there be that being without office can rebuke magistrates, and fynd faut with men that be in office and preeminence. After when it commeth to their chaunce to come to office them selues, then they haue taken out a newe lesson. *cum esse paruulus sapiebam ut paru-*

When I was a child, I sauered as a childe.

They wyll do then as other men do, they are come to haue experience, to be practifioners. The maydes chylde is euer best taughte, for he hath standes vp ryghte in office, he is the fellow, Samuell wold neuer

* The righteous is taken away from the evil to come.—Isa. lvii. 1.

† Walk ye not in the statutes of

your fathers.—Ezek. xx 18.

* When I was a child . . . I thought as a child.—1 Cor. xiii. 11.

haue thought that hys sonnes shold haue bene so corrupted. It is a perillous thyng, a dangerous state to be a iudge. They felte ye smaker of the worlde, a perillous thyng. And therefore S Chrysostom sayth. *Mirror si aliquis rectorum saluabitur.* I maruaile (sayeth he) yat ani ruler can be faued. If the peril were wel considered men would not be so desirous as they be. The world ye world hath many subtil sleightes, it is a craftie thyng and verye deceitfull, a corrupter, and who is it whom the worlde doeth not corrupte and blynde at one tyme or other.

The state of a Iudge is dangerous and lucre is so lickorous that he that once lyckes of it, leketh it.

The good man Nemo otherwyse called nobody that dwelleth wyth Vtopia.

What was the waye they walked? *Declinauerunt post auaritiam.** That is one. Thei stouped after gayne, they turned a syde after lucre. What folowed? *Acceperunt munera.** They toke rewardes gyftes, brybes I should cal theym, for that is theyr ryghte name. What then? *Peruerterunt iudicium.** They turned Iustice vpsedowne. Eyther they would gyue wrong iudgemente, or els put of and delaye poore mennes matters.

They cal them rewardes but bribes is the fyrst letter of theyr Christian name.

These were theyr wayes, here is the Deuyles genealogye. A gradation of the Diuyles making. This is, *Scala inferni.* The ladder of hell.

The Diuels genealogye the ladder of hell.

I tolde you before of *scali caeli*, the ladder of heauen, I woulde you shoulde not forget it. The steppes thereof are fet forthe in the tenth to the Romaines. The fyrste is preachynge, then hearynge, then beleuyng, and laste of all Saluation. *Scala caeli*, is a preachynge matter I tell you, and not a maffying matter, goddes instrument of saluation, is preachynge.

Preachynge Hearynge Beleuyng and saluacion.

Here I moued you my Lordes, not to be greadye and outragiouse in enhaunfynge, and rayfynge of youre rentes, to the minishynge of the offyce of saluation. It

Wel moued and Godlye exhorted of M. Latimer but litle minded or slow-

† And his sons walked not in his and took bribes, and perverted judgment.—1 Sam. viii. 3.

lye followed
for all that.

it is in Oxforde I can not tell. Ther be few do
The studi of
diuinitie deca-
yed in Cam-
briège.
study diuinitie, but so many as of neces-
fity must furnysh ye Colledges. For their
lyuynge be so small, and vytaylee so dere,
that they tarry not ther, but go other where to
feke lyuynge and so they go aboute. Nowe therebe
a fewe gentylnen and they studye a little diuinitie.

The vsurped
supremytye
of the bysh-
[op] of Rome
wyl not be
kept out with
a lytle Eng-
lyshe dyui-
nitie.

Alas, what is that? it wil come to passe
that we shal haue nothyng but a lytle
Englyshe diuinitie, that wyl bryng the
Realme into a veye barbarousnes, and
vtter decaye of learnyng. It is not that,
I wyfte, that wyl kepe out the suprema-
cy of the byshoppe of Rome.

Here I

M. Latimer
is reasonabl
request for
poore schol-
lers ex[h]iby-
cions.

wyl make a supplicacion, that ye would
bestow so muche to the fyndyng of
schollers, of good wyttes, of poore mens
sonnes, to exercise the offyce of saluacion,
in releuing of schollers, as ye were wont
to bestowe in Pylgrimage matters, in trentals, in masses,
in purgatorye matters, Ye bestowed that lyberallye,
bountyfully, but thys was not wel spente.

You hadde a zeale but not *Secundum scientiam*.*

Wher vpon
we maye be-
stowe once
goodes wel,
and please
God wel

Not accordyng to knowledge. You may
before yf you bestowe youre goodes on
thys wyse, ye shall bestowe it wel to
supporte and vpholde Goddes word,
wherin ye shal please God.

I requyre no more, but that ye bestowe so muche
Godlye, as ye were wonte to bestowe vngodlye.

It is a refonable peticion, for Goddes sake, looke
vpon it I fay no more.

They that
haue least
nede haue
most healpe

There be none nowe but greate mens
sonnes in Colledges, and theyr fathers loke
not to haue them preachers, so euerye
waye thys offyce of preachyng, is pyncht at.

* For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not accord-
ing to knowledge.—Rcm. x. 2.

I wil speake no more of *Scala cæli*, But I am fuer thys is *Scala inferni*, the ryghte waye to hell, to be couetous, to take bribes, and peruerte iustice. If a iudge shoulde aske me the waye to hell, I woulde shewe hym thys waye. Fyrste let hym be a couetouse man, let hys herte be poysoned wyth couetoufnes. Then let hym go a lyttle further and take brybes, and laste peruerte iudgemente. Loo, heare is the mother and the daughter, and the daughters daughter. Auarice is the mother, she brynges forthe brybe takynge, and bribe takynge, peruertyng of iudgement.

Ther lackes a fourth thing to make vp the messe, whyche so God helpe me if I were iudg, shoulde be *Hangum tuum*, a tyburne tippet to take wyth hym, and it were the iudge of the kinges bench, my Lorde chyefe Iudge of Englande, yea, and it were my Lord Chaunceloure hym selfe, to tiburne wyth hym.

Ther was wyth in these. xxx, yeares a certain wydow, whych fodaynlye was attached, had to pryson, indyted, condempned, and there were certayne learned men that visited her in the prifon. Oh I woulde ye woulde resorte to Prysonnes. A commendable thyng in a chrysten realme, I woulde wyshe there were curates for prysonnes, that we myght saye, the curate of Newegate, the curate of the flet, and I woulde haue them well waged laboure. It is a holy daye worcke to vyset the prifoners, for they be kepte from sermons. Ther was that resorted to thys woman, who, when she came to prifon, was beades, and nothyng else, a popysh woman, and fauered not of Iesu Christe. In processe she was so applyed that she tasted. *Quam suavis est dominus.** She had fuche a fauore, fuche a swetenes and felynge that she thought it longe to the daye of execution. She was wyth Christe al ready, as touchynge fayeth.

The ready waye downe to the deuyl in hell.

A tyburne tippet for brybbeckers and perverters of iudgement.

The wydow that was in prison.

Ther shulde be curates for presones.

A holy daye worcke to vyset the presoners.

The woman turned from papystrye by the dyligent resort of the learned, frequentlyng the presone.

* That the LORD is gracious.—1 Pet. ii. 3.

She had fuche a defyre that ſhe fayed wyth ſaynt Paule. *Cupio diffolui et eſſe cum chriſto.*† I defyre to be ryd, and to be wyth Chriſt. The word of God had ſo wrought in hyr, when ſhe was brought to punyſhment, ſhe defyred to confeſſe hyr faulte, ſhe toke of hyr death, that ſhe was gyltyleſſe in that thyng ſhe ſuffered for, and hyr neyghbours woulde haue borne hyr wytnes in the ſame. She was alwayes an honeſte ciuyll woman, hyr neyghbours woulde haue gone on hir purgacion a greate waye.

They woulde nedes haue hir confeſſe, then ſaith ſhe. I am not gylty, wold ye haue me to make me gyltye, wher I am not? Yet for al thys, ſhe was a treſpaſar, ſhe had done a greate offence.

But before I go forwarde wyth thys, I muſt fyrſt tel you a tale.

I hearde a good whyle ago, a tale of one, I ſawe the man yat told me the tale not longe ago, in thys auditorye. He hath traueiled in mo countries then one.

He toulde me that there was once a pretour in Rome, Lorde mayre of Rome, a ryche manne, one of the richeſt marchauntes in all the cytye, and ſodaynelye he was caſte in the caſtle Aungell. It was herde of, and euerye man, whyſpered in an others eare. What hath he done? Hathe he kyllled any man? No. Hath he medled wyth Alam, oure holye fathers merchandice? No. Hathe he counterfaited our holy fathers Bulles. No. For theſe were hye treaſons.

One rowned an other in the ear and ſayd, *Erat diues*. He was a riche man. A greate fault. Here was a goodlye praye for that holye father. It was in Popes Iulius tyme, he was a greate warrioure. Thys praye woulde healpe hym to maynetayne hys warres, a ioly praye for oure holye father.

So thys woman was *Diues*. She was a ryche woman, ſhe had hir landes by the Shiriffes noſe. He was a gentilman of a longe noſe.

A gentleman
of a long noſe
from ſuche a

* Having a deſire to depart, and to be with Chriſt; which is far better. —Phil. i. 23.

Such a cup, fuche a crufe. She would not depart from hir own. Thys Shyryffe was a couetuoufe man, a worldely man. The Iudge at the enpanyng of the quefte, hadde hys grauelookes, and charged them wyth thys. It was the kynges matter, loke wel vpon it.

nose, I praye
God, Libera
nos et salua
nos.

When it makes for theyr purpose, they haue the Kyng, the kinge, in their mouthes.

Wel, some what there was, ther was walkyng of angelles betwene them. I would wyfhe that of fuche a Iudge in Englande nowe, we might haue ye skin hanged vp. It were a goodly signe the fygne of the iudges skynne. It shoulde be Loths wyfe, to all Iudges that shoulde folow after. By thys ye may perceiue, it is possible for a manne to answere for him selfe, and be arraigned at the barre, and neuertheles to haue wronge. Yea, ye shall haue it in fourme of lawe, and yet haue wronge to. So it is possible in a case, for a manne that hath in hys absence atintament [at-tainment]. to haue right, and no wronge.

The sygne
of the Iud-
ges skynns

A man maye
answer for
him selfe and
yet haue
wronge, and
be absent, and
yet haue
ryghte.

I wil not fay naye, but it is a good lawe for a man to answere for him selfe, thys is reasonable, allowable and good. And yet fuche an vrgent cause maye be, fuche a respect to a commune wealth that a man may rightlye be condemned in hys absence. There be fuche causes that a man may in hys absence be condemned, but not ofte, excepte they be such cases that the reason of the generall lawe maye be kepte. I am prouoked of some to condempne this lawe, but I am not able, so it be but for a time, and vpon wayghty confideracions, so that it be vsed rarely, feldomly, for auoydyng disturbaunce in the commune wealth, such an epiky and moderacion maye be vsed in it.

And neuertheles it is verye mete and requisite that a man shoulde answere for hym selfe.

We muste consider the ground of the lawe: for *Ratio legis, anima legis*. The reason of the law, is ye soule of the

The reason of
the lawe is
the soule of
the lawe.

law. Whi? what is the reason and ende of the lawe? It is thys, that no man shoulde be iniured. A man may in hys attayntmente haue no more wronge done hym then if he aunswered for hym selfe.

Ah then I am not able to saye, that in no wyfe, and arrainement maye be tourned in to attayntement, A man may haue wronge and that in open iudgemente, and in forme of lawe, and yet alowed to answere for hym selfe: and euen so is possible he maye haue ryghte thoughe he neuer aunswere for hym selfe. I wyll not say but that the parlament houfes both hye and lowe, may erre, and yet they may do wel, and

How we must take the doyn- ges of the parli- ament.

christen subiectes must take all thynges to the beste, and expounde theyr doyn- ges well, althoughe they can not yelde, a reason for it, except their procedings be manifestli wicked. For though they can not attayne to se for what purpose thynges be done, it is no good reasone that they be called euell done therefore. And is thys

An vntrue ar- gument.

a good argumente, he is not alowed to answer for hym selfe in thys place or that place, where he wyll appoynte: Ergo, he is not alowed to answere for him selfe? No.

He myght haue aunswered the beste he coulde for hym selfe before a greate meanye, and haue hadde moe to, if he had requyred theym. Yea, and was commaunded vpon his allegiaunce to speake for hym selfe, and to make aunswere, but he woulde not, nedes he woulde come oute to Iudgemente, and appoynte the place hymselfe.

A manne that answeres for hym selfe at the barre, is not allowed hys manne of lawe to answere for hym, but he muste aunswere hym selfe. Yet in the Parlia-

Fre lyberty is graunted speake in the Parliamente house.

mente, although he were not there hym selfe, anye frende he had, had lyberty to aunswere for hym, franke, and fre, I know of olde the manner. The tenoure of the wryttes is thys, Euerye man to speake the best he knoweth of hys conscyence, for the kynges magesties honour, and the wealth of the realme. There were

in the Parliament in both houses, a greate manye learned men, conscionable men, wyse men. When that man was attaynted there, and they hadde lybertye, there to fay naye, to hys attayntmente yf they woulde. Sure I am the mooste allowed it, or else it coule not haue gone forwarde.

These premisses considered. I woulde haue you to beare suche a hart, as it becommeth christen subiectes. I knowe what men saie of me wel ynoughe, I could pouрге my selfe.

There is that prouokes me to speake ag[a]ynst thys lawe of attayntemente, they saye I am not indyfferente. Surelye I woulde haue it to be doone rarely vpon some great respecte to the commune wealthe, for auoydyng of greater tumulte and peryll.

Saynt Paule was allowed to answer for hym selfe, yf Lifias the tribune hadde not pluchte him away from shewyng of hys matter, it hadde coste hym hys lyfe. Paule was allowed to answer for hym selfe. Actes xxi. Where he was faued by the magystrate, beyng but a pryuate manne. Wyl ye not alowe that some thyng be done as wel for sauynge of the magystrates lyte? It behoues theym of the Parliament to looke well vpon the matter. And I for my parte thynke not but they dyd well, else I should not yelde the dutye of a subiecte.

Some liken me to doctoure Shaw, that preached at Pauls crosse, that Kynge Edwardes sonnes were bastardes. M. Latimer likened to doctour Shaw. An easy matter for one of the counsell to induce Latimer to make a lie as doctour Shaw dyd. Me thinke you beyng the kynges seruauant and hys offycer, shoulde thynke better on the Kynge, and hys counsel, though I were lyghte of belefe. If he had bene a true man to hys mayster, he woulde neuer haue spoken it.

The counsayle nedes not my lye, for the defence of that, that they do. I canne beare it of my selfe. Concerninge my selfe, that, that which I haue spoken, hath done some good.

You wyl faye thys. The Parliamente house are wyser then I am, you myghte leaue theym to defence

of theym felues. Although the men of the Parliament house can defende them felues, yet haue I spoken thys of a good zeale, and a good ground of the Admyralles wrytting, I haue not fayned, nor lyed one iote. Vse your Iudgement and languages, as it becommeth Christian subiectes.

I wyll nowe leaue the honourable counsayle to
 One fact confessed of the Admyral, he woulde not haue the kynge brought vp lyke a warde in hys minoritie
 answer for themselues. He confessed one facte, he woulde haue hadde the gouernaunce of the kynges maiestye. And wot ye why? He sayed he would not in his minoritie haue hym brought vp lyke a warde. I am sure he hath bene brought vp fo Godly, wyth such Sholemaysters as neuer kynge was in Englande, and so hathe prospered vnder them, as neuer none dyd. I wotte not what he mente by hys bryngyng vp lyke a warde, onles he woulde haue hym not to go to hys boke and learne as he doeth.

Kynges shulde be learnid
 Nowe woo worth hym, yet I wyl not say fo neyther. but I pray God amende hym, or els God sende hym short lyfe, that woulde haue my foueraygne not to be brought vp in learnyng, and woulde plucke hym from hys booke. In aduertysse the therfore my fellowe subiecte, vse thy tonge better, and expounde well the doynge of the magystrates.

Now to the purpose, for these thynges lette me of my matter, and yet they be necessarye.

Some saye preachers should not meddle wyth suche matters, but dyd not oure Sauioure Iesus Christe medle wyth matters of Iudgemente, when he spake of the wycked Iudge, to leaue ensample to vs that followe, to do the same?

Ye se here, that Ladye couetousnes is a
 Ladye couetousnes is a chyldyng woman.
 fruitfull woman, euer chyldyng, and euer bryngyng forthe her fruites. It is a true sayinge. *Radix omnium malorum auaritia.** Couetousnes is the roote of all wykednes. One wyl say peraduenture, you speake vnsemelye and in conuenientlye so to be agaynste the offycers, for takynge of rewardes in doynge pleasures.

* The love of money is the root of all evil.—1 Tim vi. 10.

Ye confyder not the matter to the bot-
tome. Theyr offyces be bought for great
fommes, nowe howe shall they receyue
theyre money agayne, but by brybynge ye woulde haue
them vndone. Some of them gaue. CC. [two hundred]
poundes some. v C. [fue hundred] pounce, some.
ii. M [two thousand] pound, And how shal they
gather vp thys money agayne, but by healpyng
them selues in theyre offyce. And is it so trowe ye?
Are ciuile offyces bought for monei? *
Lorde God. Who would haue thought
that? Let vs not be to hasti to credit it
For then we haue the old prouerbe, *Om-
nia uenalia Romæ.* All thynges are folde
for mony at rome, and rome is come home to oure
own dores. If thei bei, thei must nedes fel, for it is
wittely spoken. *Vendere iure potest, emerat ille
prius,* he may lawefully fel it, he bought it be-
fore. God forfend that euer any such enormitie
shuld be in England, that ciuile offyces should be
boughte and foulded, wher as men shulde haue them
gyuen them for theyr worthines, I would the kinges
maiestye shuld seke thorow his realme for mete men,
and able men, worthy to be in offyce, yea
and gyue them liberally for theyr paynes,
and rather geue them money to take the
offyce in hande, then they to geue money for it. Thys
byyng of offyces is a makynge of bry-
berye, it is an enducynge, and enfor-
ynge, and compelling of men to bryberye.
Holye scrypture qualifieth the offycers and sheweth
what maner of men they shulde be and of what
qualites, *Viros fortes,*† Some Translacions
haue *Viros sapientes.*† The Englyshe
translacion hath it verye well. Menne
of actyuite that haue stomakes to do theyr office, they
must not be milke soppes, nor whyte lyuered knyghtes,
they muste be wyse, hartye, hardye men
of a good stomake. Secundarely, he quali-

He that byeth
dere must ne-
des sel theraf-
ter.

* Ye must vn-
derstande,
'yea, as well
as cynyl oyle'
to make
the sentence
perfect.

Mete men
able, and
worthy to be
put in offyce.

It is a brybe-
ry to byc of-
fices.

What man-
ner of men of-
fycers shulde
be.

They muste
haue, iiii. pro-
perties.

* Thou shalt provide out of all the men of truth, hating covetousness.—
people able men, such as fear God, Exod. xviii. 21.

fyeth them wyth the feare of god. He faieth they must be *Timentes deum*. * fearyng God. For yf he feare God, he shalbe no bryber, no paruenter of iudgemente, faythful. Thyrdly they must be chosen offycers. *In quibus est veritatis*. * In whome is trueth. If he saye it, it shalbe done. Fourthly. *Qui oderunt auaritiam*. * Hatynge couetousnes, farre from it, he wyll not come nere it, that hateth it. It is not he that wyll geue. v. C.

Fyue C. ponde, geuen for an offyce

[fyue hundred] ponde for an offyce. Wyth these qualytyes Goddes wyfedom woulde haue magistrates to be qualified. Thys commeth from the deuylls confytory to pay. v. C. [fyue hundred] poundes for one offyce. If they paye so much, it must nedes

They that are mete to beare offyce wold be sought out and lyberally feed. Sellynge of offyces and sellyng of benefyces are both one. that is to say Symony o-therwyse called Se money.

followe that they take brybes, that they be brybe takers. Suche as be mete to beare office seke them out, hyere them, geue them compotente and lyberall fees that they shall not nede to take anye brybes. And if ye be at selling ciuile offices, ye are as they which sell their benefyces, and so we shal haue. *Omnia uenalia*. Al thinges boughte for money. I meruaile the ground gapes not and deuours vs, how be it, we ought not to maruayle, surely it is, the great lenitie of god that suffers it. Oh Lorde in what case are we If the great men in Turkey shuld vse in theyr religion of Mahomete to sel as our patrons commonlye sell benefyces here, the offyce of preachinge, the office of saluacion it shoulde be taken

The Turke would not suffer that we do.

as an intollerable thing. The turke would not suffer it in his common wealth. Patrons be charged to se the office done, and not to seke a lucre and a gaine by his patronship. Ther was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande and a good brother of mine came vnto hym and brought hym. xxx. Apples in a dysh, and gaue them hys man to carrye them to

The merye

* Such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness. Exod. xviii 1.

hys mayster. It is like he gaue one to his man for his labour to make vp the game, and so ther was xxxi. This man commeth go his mayster and presented hym wyth the dyshe of Apples, sayinge. Syr fuche a man hath sente you a dyshe of frute, and desyreth you to be good vnto hym for fuche a benefyce. Tushe tushe, quod he, thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orcharde. The man came to the pryest agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayster sayed. Then quod the priest, desyre hym yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better then they loke for. He cut one of them and founde ten peces of golde in it. Mary quod he, thys is a good apple. The pryest standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, they are all one apples I warrante you Syr, they grewe all on one tree, and haue all one taste. Well, he is a good fellowe, let hym haue it quode the patrone, etc, Get you a grafte of thys tre and I warrante you it shall stand you in better steade then all Sayncte Pauls learnynge. Well, let patrons take hede for they shall aunfwere for all the soules that peryshe throughe theyr defaute. There is a saying that ther be a greate maenye in Englande that saye there is no soule, that beleue not in the immortalitye of mans soule, that thyncke it is not eternal, but lyke a dogges soule, that thyncke there is neyther heauen nor hell. Oh Lord, what a wayghtye, matter is thys? What a lamentable thyng in a christen common wealth? I can not tell what they saye, but I perceyue by their worckes that they thyncke so, or elles they woulde neuer do as they do. These fellers of offices shew that they beleue that there is neyther hell nor heauen. It is taken for a laughynge matter, wel, I wyl gooe on. Nowe to the Chapiter. The chyldren of Israell came to Samuell and sayed. *Senuisti.** Thou

tale of the patrone that sold a benefyce for a deyn-tye dyshe of Apples.

A graft of gold to get a benefyce wyth al is worth a great deale of learnynge.

The errour of such as beleue not the immortalitie of Soules.

* Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations.—1 Sam. viii. 5.

arte growen into age. Geue vs a King? Thy sonnes walke not in thy wayes. What a heuynes was thys to Samuel was sorye for the swaryng of hys sonnes] from hys wayes. father Samuels herte, to here that hys sonnes (whom he hadde so well brought vppe) shoulde swarue from hys wayes that he had walked in. Father Samuel goeth to god to know hys wyl and pleasure in thys matter, God answered, let them haue a Kynge. They haue not caste the awaye but me, that I shoulde not raygne ouer them. Thys is theyr grounde that faye a kyng is an odiousse thing and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force and violent thys place to make for theyr purpose, wher no such thyng is mente. Shewe the Israeletes (sayth god) and testify to them a Kynge's autorite, and what a thing a kyng is, and what a kinge will do. And yat wyl not perfwade them. I wyl not here them hear after, when they shal crie vnto me. I muste nedes confesse that the Iewes trespassed against almighty God in asking of a King. But hear is the matter, in what thyng ther offence stode, whether absolutelye in askynge a kyng, or in anye other circumstance. It was in a circumstance. They sayed not. Aske vs a kyng to iudge vs as al other nacions haue. They would haue a Kynge of theyr owne swinge and of theyr owne election, as thoughe they paste not of God. In a nother poynte there was pryde. They would be lyke the heathen and iudged vnder kinges as thei were. Thyrdly, they offended God because they asked a kyng to the iniury and wronge of good father Samuel to depose hym, so thys was a wrong toward Samuel. It was not with Samuell and hys children, lyke as wyth Ealy and his children Ophenes and Phines. They were cruel who wyth hokes takyng the fleshe out of the pottes when that sacrifice was offered to god, brought the people into a contempt of Gods word.

Samuel was sorye for the swaryng of hys sonnes] from hys wayes.

A place vylentyd and forsyd to serue for other purpose then it was euer meant.

Wherin the entent of the Iewes, dyd consist.

The Iewes offendyd in thire thynges

A comparison betwene Samuel and his sonnes, and E[ly] and hys sonnes.

They were lecherers. Theyr synne were manifestlye and notoriously knowne: but theyr father Elye knowynge and herynge of it dyd blame them, but nothinge to purpose, he dyd not earnestly and substancially chastise them, and therefore he was iustlye depofed of God. The synnes of Samuelles sonnes were not knowen, they were not so notorious, wherfore it was not wyth father Samuell as it was wyth Elye, hys sonnes fautes were takynge of brybes, and peruertynge of iudgementes. Yeknowethat, bryberye is a secrete faute, and therefore it was not knowen. It was done vnder a coloure and a pretence of iustice, hidlye and couertly done. Therefore because it stode in brybes it was not like in Samuell as in Elye. It is a daungerous thyng to be in offyce for. *qui attingit picem coinquinabitur ab ea*, He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be spotted with it. Bribes may be assembled to pitch, for euen as pytche dothe pollute theyr handes that medle with it: so brybes wyl bryng you to peruertynge of iustyce. Beware of pytch, you iudges of the worlde, brybes wyl make you peruert iustice. Why you wil say. We touche none. No mary. But my Mystres your wyfe hath a fyne fynger she toucheth it for you or els you haue a seruaunt a *Muneribus* he wyl say yf you wyl come to my master and offer him a yoke of oxen, you shal spede neuer the worffe but I thincke my Mayster wil take none, when he hath offered them to ye maister, then commes another seruaunt and faves. If you wyl bring them to the clarke of the kichen, you shall be remembred the better. Thys is a fryerly fassion that wyll receyue no moneye in theyr handes but wyll haue it put vpon theyr fleues. A goodly rag of popyshe religion. They be lyke graye fryers, they wyll not be sene to receyue them selues but haue other to receiue

Ely sonnes were lecherers and manifest offenders. i. Samuel

Samuels Sonnes wer brybers and peruerterers of iudgement.

Brybes are lyke pyche.

Anglice a receyuer of his masters brybes.

A fryerly fassion in refu-synge of brybes. A goodly rage of popyrie religion.

no brybes for them.

Thoughe Samuell fonnes were priuye brybers and kepte the thyng verry clofe, yet the crye of the people brought it to Samuell, It was a hyd kynde of synne. For men in thys poynte, woulde face it and brace it and make a shewe of vpryght dealynge, when

But suche men carrye pryde in their bosomes that accuseth them.

Samuel woulde not be partaker of his sonnes offences.

they be most gyltye, Neuertheleffe, thys gere came out. Oh wycked fonnes, that brought both theyr father to depoficion and them felues to shame. When Samuel herde of theyr faut, he went not about to excufe theyr fautes. He would not beare wyth hys fonnes. He woulde not. *Communicare peccatis alienis*. Be partaker wyth his fonnes offences, he fayed. *Ego fenui, ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt.** As fone as he hearde of it, he delyuered hys fonnes to the people to be punyshed. He wente not aboute to excufe them, nor fayed not, thys is the fyrft tyme, beare wyth them, but prefented theym by and by to the people fayinge: Loe here they be, take theym, do wyth theym accordynge to theyr desertes. Oh. I woulde ther were no more bearers of other mens fynnes, then this good father Samuell was. I hearde of late of a notable bloudshed. *Audio* fayeth S. Paule and fo do I. I know it not, but I heare of it. Ther was a searcher in london, which executynge his office displeafed a marchaunt man, in fo much that when he was doinge his office, they were at wordes, the marchant man threatned hym, the searcher fayed, the kyng shuld not lose hys custome. The marchant goes me home and sharpe[n]s his woodknife, and comes a gaine and knockes hym on ye head and killes him, thei yat told me yat tale fai it is winked at, thei loke thorow ther fyngers and wil not fe it.

Weyther it be taken vp wyth a pardon or no I cannot tel, but this I am fure, and yf ye beare wyth fuch matters the deuil shal bear you awai to hel. Bloudshed and murder would haue no bearing. It is a heinous thyng

Ye but it were better to go to God then to be borne to the deuyll.

* I am old and grayheaded; and, behold, my sons are with you.—1 Sam. xii. 2.

bloudshedyng and especially voluntary murder and prepenfed murder. For in Numerye God fayeth it poluteth the whole realme. *Polluitur illa terra, etc. et non potest expiari sine fanguine.** The lande cannot be purged nor clenfed agayne tyl his bloud be shed that shed it. It is the offyce of kyng to fe fuch murders punished with death. *Non frustra gestat gladium.†* What wyl ye make of a kyng? He beareth a fwerde before hym, not a Pecokes fether. I go not a bout to flyrre you nowe to crudelitye, but I speake agaynste bearyng of bloudshed. Thys bearyng muſte be loked vpon. In certayne cauſes of murther fuch great circumſtaunces may be, that the kyng may pardon a murther. But if I were worthy to be of counſaylle, or if I were asked myne aduife, I wolde not haue the kyng to pardon a voluntarye murther, a prepenfed murther.

Bloudshedding and prepenfed murder would not be borne with all.

The kyng beareth a ſwerd before him and not a Pecokes fether.

I can tell where one man ſlew an other, in a townſhypp, and was attached vpon the ſame. xii. men were impaneled, the man hadde frendes, the Shryue laboured the bench, the. xii. men ſtacke at it and ſayed, excepte he wolde diſburſe. xii. crownes they wolde fynde hym gyltye.

Meanes were found that the xii. crownes was payed. The queſt commes in and ſayes not gyltye.

Here was a not gyltye for xii. crownes. This is bearyng, And ſome of the bench were hanged, thei were wel ſerued. This makes men bolde to do murder and ſlaughter. We ſhoulde referue murderynge tyll we come to oure ennemyes, and the Kyng bydde vs fight. He that wolde be ſturte him than, were a preti felow in dede. Crownes?

If theyr crownes were ſhauen to the ſhoulders they were ſerued well inoughe. I knew where a womanne was got wyth chylde, and was a ſhamed at the matter, and wente into a ſecrete place, where ſhe hadde no

* For blood it defileth the land : the blood of him that ſhed it.—Numb. xxxv. 33.
The land cannot be cleaſed of the blood that is ſhed therein, but by † He beareth not the ſword in vain.—Rom. xiii. 4.

women at her trauail and was deliuered of thre chyldren at a byrthe.

She wrounge theyr neckes and caste theym into a water, and so kylde her chyldren. Sodaynelye, she was gaunte agayne, and her neyghboures suspectynge the matter caused her to be examined, and she graunted all. Afterwarde she was rayned at the barre for it, and dyspatched and founde not giltye, throughe bearinge of friendes and brybynge of the iudge.

Where at the same sessyons, another poore womanne was hanged for stealyng a fewe ragges of a hedg, that were not worthe a crowne.

There was a certayne gentleman a professour of the word of God (he spedde neuer the better for that ye maye be sure) whoo was accused of murtheryng of a manne, where vppon he was cast into pryson. And by chaunce as he was in pryson one of hys frendes came vnto hym for to visite hym, and he declared to hys frende that he was neuer gylty in the murtheringe of the man. So he wente hys wayes, the gentle man was arayed and condempned, and as he wente to hys execution, he sawe hys frendes seruante, and said vnto him. Commende me to thy master, and I pray the tel hym, I am the same man styl I was when he was wyth me.

And if thou tary a whyle, thou shalt se me dye. There was sute made for thys mannes pardon, but it coulde not be gotten. Belike the Shriues or some other bare hym no good wyll. But he dyed for it. And afterwarde I beyng in the Tower, hauynge leaue to come to the Lieuetenauntes table, I hearde hym saye that ther was a man hanged afterwarde, that kylled the same manne for whome this Gentyelman was put to death. O Lord what bearyng what bolstering of naughtye matters is thys in a Chrystian realme? I desyre youre Maiestye to remedye the matter, and God graunt you to se redres in this realme in your owne person.

An Apostrophe to the kynge for redresse of learning and bol-

Although my Lord Protector I doubt not and the reste of the counfayle do in the

meane whyle all that lyeth in them to redresse things. I would such as be rulers, noble men and maisters shold be at thys poynt with theyr seruauntes to certify them on thys fort. If anye man go about to do you wrong I wyl do mi best to helpe you in your right. But if thou breke the law thou shalte haue iustice. If ye wyll be manquellers, murderers, and traunsgressours, loke for no bearynge at my handes. A straunge thyng. What nede wee in the vengeaunce to burden our selues wyth other mennes fynnes? Haue we not fynnes inowe of oure owne? What neade haue I to burden my selfe wyth other mennes fynnes? I haue burdens and. ii. heapes of fynnes. One hepe of knowen finnes, an other of vnknowen fynnes. I had nede to fay. *Ab occultis meis munda me domine** O Lord deliuer me from mi hidden and my vnknowe[n] fynnes.

steryng of
naughty mat
ters.

A Godly ad-
uerttsement
for noble men
and masters
but I feare
me it is to
Godly to be
folowed.

Then if I beare with other mennes fynnes, I muste faye Deliuer me frome my other mennes fynnes. A straung saynge, from my other mens sinnes. Who beareth wyth other folkes offences, he communicateth wyth other folkes fynnes. Men haue sinnes inough of their owne, althoughe they beare not and bolster vp other men in their naughtines, thys bearinge, this bolsteryng and loking thorowe their fingers: is naught. What the fayr hadde should I (or any else) encrease my burden. Myne other mens fynnes forgyue me O Lord.

A straunge language they haue hyd syns of their owne inough althoughe they beare not wyth gyltines of other mens fynnes.

Oh father Samuell would not beare hys owne sonnes. He offered hys owne sonnes to punyshment. And sayd. *Ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt.*† Euen at the fyrste tyme he sayd. Lo, here they be, I discharge my selfe, take them vnto you, and as for my parte.

Presto sum loqui coram domino et Christo eius.‡ I am

* Cleanse thou me from secret faults.—Psa. xix. 12.

† Behold, my sons are with you.—1 Sam. xii 2

‡ Behold, here I am: witness against me before the LORD, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken?

here ready to answere for my selfe, before the Lord and hys anointed. Behold here I am, record of me before the Lorde. *Vtrum cuiusquam bouem. etc.* Whether I haue taken any mans oxe, ani mans affe, or whether I haue done any man wronge, or hurte anye man, or taken any bribes at anye mans hande. I canne commend the Englysh translation that doth interprete *munera* bribes, not gyftes. They answered, naye forsooth. We knowe no such thinges in you. *Testis est mihi deus,** saieth he, God is witnes, *Quod nihil inueneritis in manu mea.** That you haue found nought in my handes. Fewe suche Samuels are in Englande nor in the world.

Why dyd Samuell thys? marye to purge hym selfe, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongfullye depofed.

Then bi this ye mai perceiue the fault of the Iewes, for they offended not God in askyng for a kinge but for asking for a kinge to the wrongyng and depoficion of good father Samuel. If after Samuels death the people had asked of God a kyng they hadde not faulted, but it is no smale faut to put an innocent out of his office. Kyng Dauid likewyfe commaunded hys people to be numbred, and therewyth offended God greuoufly Why? might he not knowe the nombre of hys people? Yes, it was not the numbringe of the people that offended God, for a king may nombre hys people, but he dyd it of a pride of an elation of mynd, not according to Gods ordinaunce, but as hauinge a trust in the nombre of hys men, thys offended God.

Lykewise the Iewes asked a kyng, and therewyth they offended not God. But they asked hym with suche cyrcumstaunces, that God was offended wyth them.

It is no smale faute to putte a iuste man oute of hys office, and to depofe hym vnworthely.

or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received *any* bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you.—1 Sam. xii. 3.

* And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither

hast thou taken ought of any man's hand.

† And he said unto them, the LORD *is* witness against you, and his anointed *is* witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, *He is* witness.

—1 Sam. xii. 4, 5.

To chose a Kyngge contraryinge the ordinaunce of God is a castyng away of God and not of a kyng.

Therefore doubt not, but the tytle of a kyngge, is a lawefull thyngge, is a lawefull tytle, as of other maiestrates. Onelye let ye kings take hede that thei do as it becometh Kynges to do, that thei do their office wel. It is a great thing, a chargeable thyngge. Let them beware that they do not. *Communicare peccatis alienis.**

That they beare not wyth other mens faultes for they shal geue a strayte accounte for all that perissheth, thorowe theyr negligence. We perceyue nowe what thys texte meaneth.

It is wrytten in the laste of Iudicum. *In diebus illis non erat rex in Israel.*† In those dayes there was no kyngge in Israell euerye manne dyd that whyche semed ryght in hys owne eyes. Men were then allowed to do what they woulde. When men maye be allowed to do what they wyl, then is it as good to haue no king at al. Here is a wonderfull mater, that vnpreching prelats shuld be suffered so long. They can alledge for them selues. vii C. [seven hundred] yeares. Thys whyle the Realme had bene as good to haue no kyng, likewise these brybing iudges hathe bene suffered of a long tyme, and then it was, *Quasi non fuisset rex in anglia.* To suffer this is asmuch to say, There is no king in England, it is the dutye of a kyngge to haue al states set in order to do their office. I haue troubled you to long. I wil make an end bresly. *Beati qui audiunt verbum.*‡ Blessed be thei yat hear the word of god, but so that thei folowe it, and kepe it in credite, in memori, not to depraue it and slaunder it, and bring the preachers out of credite, but that folowe it in theyr life, and liue after it. He
graunt you al that blessing
that made both you
and me. A-
men.

* Neither be partaker of other men's sins. -1 Tim. v. 22.

† In those days *there was* no king in Israel.—Judg. xxi. 25.

‡ Luke xi. 28.

A The sixte

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whyh he preached be-
fore the kynges Maiesty wyth
in hys Graeces Palaie at
Westminster the
xii. Daye of
Aprill.



*Væcunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges that are written, they are written, to be our doctrine. What doctrine is written for vs in the. viii, Chapter of the fyrst boke, of the kynges, I dyd partely shewe vnto you (most honorable audience) this day fenight, of that good man father Samuell, ye good iudge howe good a man he was, what helpers and coadiutours, he toke vnto him, to haue hys offyce well discharged. I tolde you also of the wyckednes of hys sonnes, howe they toke bribes, and lyued wyckedlye, and by that meanes, brought both theyr father, and them selues to deposition. And howe the people dyd offende Gode in asking a Kynge in father Samuells tyme. And howe father Samuel was put from his offyce, who deserued it not. I opened to you also, howe father Samuel cleares hym selfe, that he know not ye fauts of his sonnes he was no bearer with his sonnes he was sory for it, when he herde it, but he wold not beare with them in their wickednes. *Filii mei vobiscum sunt.†* my fons are with you faith he. Do wyth theym accordynge to theyr desertes, I wyl not maintayne them, nor beare with them. After that he cleares him self at the kinges fete, that the people had nothings to burthen

* Rom. xv. 4.

† 1 Sam. xii. 2.

hym with al, neyther money, nor money worth. In treatinge of that part, I chaunced to shewe you, what I heard of a man that was slayne, and I heare saye it was not well taken.

Forsoth I entend not to empayre anye mannes estimation or honestye, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meanyng. I sayd I heard, but of fuche a thyng, and toke occasion by that, that I heard, to speake agaynste the thyng, that I knewe to be noughte, that no man should beare with any man to the mayntenaunce of voluntary and prepenfed murder. And I here saye syns, the man was otherwise an honest man, and they that spake for hym, are honest men. I am inclinable inoughe to credyte it. I spoke not by cause I woulde haue anye mannes honestye impayred. Onelye I dyd as Saynct. Paule dyd, who hearynge, of the Corinthyans, that there shoulde be contencions and myfordre among them, dyd wryte vnto theym that he harde, and there vpon by occasion of hearynge he fet furth verye holfome doctryne of the supper of the Lorde. We might not haue lacked that doctryne I tel you. Be it so the Corinthians had no fuche contencions among them, as Paule wrote of, Be it so, they had not misfordred them selues, it was neyther of nor on, to that that Paule sayed. The matter laye in that, that vpon hearynge he would take occasion to fet out the good and true doctrine. So I did not affirme it to be true yat I hard. I spake it to aduertise you, to beware of bearynge, wyth wylful and prepenfed murder. I wold haue nothing enforced against any man. This was myne entent and meanyng. I do not knowe, what ye call chaunce medly in the lawe, it is not for my studye. I am a scholer in scripture in gods boke, I study that I knowe what voluntary murder is before God. If I shall fal out wyth a man. He is angrye wyth me, and I wyth hym, and lackynge oportunitie and place, we shall put it of for that tyme, in the meane feason I prepare my wepon, and sharpe

it agaynste a nother tyme, I swell and boyle in thys passion towards hym. I feke hym, we medle together, it is my chaunce by reason my weapon is better then his, and so furth, to kyl him, I geue hym his dethes stroke, in my vengeaunce and anger.

Thys call I voluntarye murder in scripture, what it is in the lawe I can not tell. It is a greate synne, and therefore I call it voluntarye. I remember what a greate Clarke wrytteth of thys.

Omne peccatum adeo est Voluntarium ut nisi sit voluntarium non fit peccatum.

Euerye synne (fayeth he) is so voluntarye, that if it be not voluntarye, it can not be called synne. Synne is no actuall synne, if it be not voluntarye. I would we woulde all knowe oure faultes and repente, that that is done, is done, it can not be called backe agayne. God is mercifull, the Kynge is mercifull, heare we maye repente, thys is the place of repentance. When we are gone hence, it is to late then to repent. And let vs be content wyth such order as the magystrates shall take. But fuer it is a perillous thing to beare wyth anye fuche matter. I toulde you what I hard faye, I woulde haue no mans honestye payred by me tellynge. I harde faye fyns of a nother murder, that a Spanyarde shoulde kyl an Englysheman, and ronne hym thorowe wyth hys swerde: they faye he was a tall man. But I here it not that the Spanyarde was hanged for hys labour. If I had, I woulde haue tould you it to. They fell out, as the tale goeth, about a whore. O Lord what whordom is vsed nowe a dayes. As I here by the relacion of honeste men, whyche tell it not after a worldye forte, as thoughe they reioysed at it, but heuely, wyth heuy hertes, howe God is dyshonored by whoredome in thys cytie of London. Yea the bancke, when it stode, was neuer so commune. If it be true that is toulde, it is maruayle yat it doeth not fincke, and that the earth gapeth not and swalloweth it vp. It is wonderfull that the citye of London doeth suffer

such whordom vnpunished. God hath suffered long of hys great lenitie, mercye, and benyngnitye, but he wyl punishe sharply at length, if we do not repente. There is sum place in London, as they saye, *immunitie, impunitie*. What should I call it? a preueledged place for whoredome. The Lorde Mayer hath nothyng to do there, the Sheriffes, thei can not medle wyth it. And the queste, they not enquire of it, and there men do bryng their whores, yea other mennes wyues, and there is no reformacion of it.

There is suche dyfynge howses also, they saye, as hath not bene wonte to be, where yong Gentlemenne dyse away their thriste, and where dyfynge is, there are other folyes also.

For the loue of God lette remedye be hadde, lette vs wrestle and stryue agaynste synne?

Menne of Englande in tymes paste, when they woulde exerceyse theym selues (for we must nedes haue some recreation, oure bodiescanne not endure wythoute some exerceyse) they were wonte to goo a brode in the fyeldes a shootynge, but nowe is turned in to glossyng, gullyng, and whoring wythin the houffe.

The arte of shutyng hath ben in tymes past much esteemed in this realme, it is a gyft of God that he hath geuen vs to excell all other nacions wyth all. It hath bene goddes instrumente, whereby he hath gyuen vs manye victories agaynste oure enemyes. But nowe we haue taken vp horyng in tounes, in steede of shutyng in the fyeldes. A wonderous thyng, that so excellent a gift of God shoulde be so lytle esteemed. I desyer you my Lordes, euen as ye loue the honoure, and glory of God, and entende to remoue his indignacion, let ther be sente fourth some proclimacion, some sharpe proclimacion to the iustices of peace, for they do not their dutye. Iustices now be no iustices, ther be manye good actes made for thys matter already. Charge them vpon their allegi-
aunce yat this singular benefit of God maye be practised, and that it be not turned into bollyng,

glossyng and whoryng wythin the townes, for they be negligent in executyng these lawes of shuting. In my tyme, my poore father, was as diligent to teach me to shote, as to learne anye other thyng, and so I thynke other menne dyd their children. He taughte me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe wyth strength of armes as other nacions do, but with strength of the bodye. I had my bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and strength as I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger, and bigger, for men shal neuer shot well, excepte they be broughte vp in it. It is a goodly art, a holosome kynde of exercise, and much commended in phisike. Marcilius Sicinus in hys boke *de triplici uita* (it is a greate while sins I red hym now) but I remembre he commendeth this kinde of exercise, and sayth, that it wrestleth agaynst manye kyndes of diseafes. In the reuerence of God, let it be continued. Let a Proclamation go furth. charynge the Iustices of Peace, yat they se suche Actes and statutes kept, as were made for this purpose. I wyl to my matter. I entend this day to entreate of a pece of scripture, written in the begynyng of the. v. Chapter of Luke. I am occasioned to take thys place by a boke sent, to the Kynges May[estye] that deade is, by Mayster Poel. It is a texte, that he doeth greatlye abuse, for the supremitye. He rackes it, and vyolentes it, to serue for the mayntenaunce of the byshop of Rome. And as he did enforce the tother place, that I entreated of last, so dyd he inforce thys also, to serue hys matter. The storye is thys.

Our Sauoure Christe was come nowe to the bancke of the water of Genezareth.

The people were come to hym and flocked aboute hym to here hym preache.

And Iesus toke a boote that was standyng at the poole, it was symonnes bote, and wente into it. And sitting in the bote he preached to them that were on the bancke. And whan he had preached and taught

them, he spake to Simon and bade hym launch out fourther into the depe, and lose hys nettes, to catche fysh. And Symon made aunswere, and fayed. Mayster, we haue labored all nyght, but we caught nothing howe be it at thy commaundement because thou byddest vs, we wyll go to it agayne. And so they dyd, and caught a greate draught, a miraculus draught so much that the net bracke, and they called to theyr fellowes that were bye, for they had. ii. botes to come to healpe them, and they came and filled both theyr botes so full, that they were nygh drounyng.* Thys is the storye: That I maye declare thys texte so, that it may be to the honoure of God and edificacion of youre soules and myne boeth. I shall desier you to healpe me wyth your prayer in the whiche. etc.

Factum est autem. (Sayth the text) *cum turba irrueret in eum.** Sayncte Luke telles the storye, and it came to passe, when the people presed vpon him, so that he was in perill to be cast into the pond they rushed so faste vpon hym and made such throng to him. A wonderous thyng, what a desyre the people had in those dayes to heare oure sauioure Christe preache, and the cause may be gathered of the latter end of the Chapter that went before. Oure Sauioure Christ had preached vnto them, and healed the fycke folkes of suche diseases and maladies as they had and therefore the people woulde haue retayned hym styll. But he made them aunswere, and fayed.

* And it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesaret,

And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing *their* nets.

And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down, and taught the people out of the ship

Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into

the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.

And Simon answering said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.

And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake.

And they beckoned unto *their* partners, which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink.

—Luke v. 1—7.

*Et aliis ciuitatibus oportet me euangelizare regnum dei, nam in hoc missus sum.** I must preache the kynge-dome of god to other cyties also, I muste shewe them my fathers wyll : for I came for that purpose. I was sente to preache the worde of God. Our Sauioure Christ sayed, howe he muste not tarye in one place, for he was sent to the worlde to preache euerye where. Is it not a meruaylous thyng, that oure vnpreaching prelates can read thys place, and yet preach no more then they do. I maruayle, that they can go quyetye to bed, and se how he allureth them with hys example, to be diligente in theyr, office. Here is a godly les-son also howe oure Sauioure Christe fled from glory. Yf these ambiciouse parsons, that climbe to honoure by bywal[k]es inordinatly, would consider this example of Iesus christ, they shold come to more honour then they do : for when thei seke honour by such bywalkes, thei come to confucion honour foloweth them yat fle from it. Our sauiour Christ, gat hym a waye erlye in the mornynge, and went vnto the wildernes. I woulde they woulde folowe thys example of Christe, and not seke honoure by suche by walkes as they do. But what dyd the people? when he had hyd hym selfe, they smelled him out in the Wyldernes, and came vnto him, by flockes, and folowed hym a greate nombre. But where reade you that a greate number of scribes and Pharises, and Bysshopes followed hym. There is a doctour that wryteth of thys pla[c]e, his name is Doctoure Gorrham, Nycolas Corrhame, I knewe hym to be a schoole Doctoure a greate while a go, but I neuer knewe hym to be an enterpreter of scripture til nowe of late : he sayeth thus, *maior deuocio in laicis Vetulis quam in clericis, etc.* There is more deuocion sayeth he, in laye folke, and olde Wyues, These sypple folke, the vulger people, then in the clarkes, they be better affecte to the worde of God, then those, that be of the cleargye. I maruayle not

* And he said unto them, I must cities also : for therefore am I sent.—
preach the kingdom of God to other Luke iv. 43.

at the sentence, but I maruayle to fynd such a sentence in such a doctour. Yf I shoulde saye so much, it would be sayed to me, that it is an euyl byrd that defiles hys owne nest, and *Nemo læditur nisi a seipso*. There is no man hurte, but of hys owne selfe. There was veryfied the sayinge of oure Sauoure Christe Whiche he spake in an other place. *Vbicunque fuerit cadauer, ibi congregabuntur aquilæ*.^{*} Wherefoeuer a deade carion is, thither wil ye e[a]gles gather. Our sauour christ compares hymselfe to a deade carrion, for where the carrion is, there wyl the Egles be, and though it be an euyl smel to vs. and stynckes in a mans noose yet it is a swete smell to the Egles, they wyl feke it out. So the people fought oute Chryst, they smelt hys fauour, he was a swete smell to them. He is *Odor uitæ ad uitam*,[†] the smel of life to life. Thei flocket about him lyke Egles. Christ was the carrion, and the people were the Egles.

Thei had no pleasure to heare the Scribes and the Pharises thei stancke in their nose, their doctrine was vnfaury, it was but of Lolions, of decimations of Anets feade, and Cummyng and suche gere. There was no comfort in it for soore consciences, there was no consolation for wounded soules, there was no remedye for synnes, as was in Christes doctryne. Hys doctryne eased the burden of the soule, it was swete to the common people, and sower to ye Scribes. It was such comforte and pleasure to them, that thei came flockyng aboute hym. Wherefore came thei? *Vt audirent uerbum dei*,[‡] it was a good commyng. They came to heare the word of God. It was not to be thought that they came all of one mynde to here the worde of GOD. It is lykely yat in so grat a multitude, some came of curiositie, to here some nouelles, and from cam smelling a swete fauour, to haue consolation and comfort of Gods word for we cannot be saued

* For wheresoeuer the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.—Matt. xxiv. 28.

† The savour of life unto life.—2 Cor. ii. 16.

‡ To hear the word of God.—Luke v. 1: see text at p. 163.

without heringe of the worde. It is a necessarye waye to saluation.

We can not be faued wythout fayeth, and fayth commeth by hearynge of the worde. *Fides ex auditu.** And howe shal they heare wythout a preacher? I tel you it is the fote-steppes of the ladder of heauen, of oure saluacion. There must be preachers if we loke to be faued. I toulde you of thys gradacion before in the tenth to the Romaynes. Consider it well. I had rather ye shoulde come of a naughtye mynde, to heare the worde of God, for noueltye, or for curiosite to heare some pastime, then to be awaye. I had rather ye shoulde come as the tale is by the Gentelwoman of London one of her neyghbours mette her in the streete, and sayed mestres whether go ye, Mary sayed she, I am goynge to S. Tomas of Acres to the sermon, I coulde not slepe al thys laste nyght, and I am goynge now thether, I neuer fayled of a good nap there, and so I had rather ye should go a napping to the sermons, than not to go at al. For with what mind so euer ye come, thoughe ye come for an ill purpose, yet peradventure ye maye chaunce to be caught or ye go, the preacher maye chaunce to catche you on hys hoke. Rather then ye should not come at al, I would haue you come of curiositie, as Sayncte Augu-tyne came to heare Sainct Ambrose. When Sayncte Augu-tyne came to Myllane, (he telles the storye hym selfe in the ende of his boke of confessions) he was very desirous to here S Ambrose, not for anye loue he had to the doctrine yat he taughte, but to here his eloquence, whether it was so greate, as the speache was, and as the brute went. Wel, before he departed Sayncte am- brose caught hym on hys hoke and conuerted hym so, that he became of a Maniche, and of a platoniste a good christian, a defender of christes religion, and of the fayeth afterwarde. So I would haue you come to ser- mones. It is declared in many mo places of scripture, howe necessarye preachynge is, as thys. *Euangelium*

* Faith cometh by hearing.—Rom. x. 17.

*est potentia dei, ad salutem omni credenti.** The preachynge of the Gospel, is the power of god to euery man that doth beleue. He meanes gods word opened, It is ye instrument, and the thing wherby we are saued. Beware beware ye diminishe not thys office, for if ye do, ye decaie goddes power to al that do beleue. Christe sayeth consonaunte to the same. *Nisi quis renatus fuerit e supernis, non potest uidere regnum dei.†*

Except a man be borne a gayne from a boue, he can not se the kyngdome of God. He muste haue a regeneracion : and what is this regeneracion? It is not to be Christened in water (as these fyre brandes expound it) and nothyng elles. Howe is it to be expounded then? saynct. Peter sheweth. That one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance, and collacion of places that make scripture playne. *Regeneramur autem ‡* (sayeth Sayncte Peter) and we be borne a gayne. Howe? *Non ex semine mortali, sed immortali.†* Not by a mortall seade, but by an immortall. What is this immortall seade? *per sermonem dei uiuentis.†* By the word of the liuyng God, by the worde of God preached and opened. Thus commeth in oure newe byrth. Here you maye se how necessarye thys offyce is to oure saluacion This is the thyng that the deuill wraastleth most agaynste, it hath bene all hys studye to decaye thys office, he worketh agaynste it as muche as he can, he hath preuailed to much, to much in it. He hath set vppe a state of vnpreachynge prelacye in this Realme this. vii. c. [seven hundred] yere, A state of vnpreachyng prelacy He hath made vnpreachynge prelates. He hath styrred vp by heapes to persecute thys office in ye title of heresy he hath sturred vppe the Magistrates to persecute it in the title of sedicion. And he hath stirred vp the people to persecute it wyth exprobacions and flaun-

* The gospel of Christ : for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.—Rom. i. 16.

† Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.—John iii. 3.

‡ Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.—1 Pet. i. 23.

derous wordes, as by the name of newe learnynge straunge preacheynge and wyth impropracions he hath turned preacheynge in to priuate Masses. If a prieste shoulde haue left Masse vndon On a sonday within these ten yeres, all En[g]lande shoulde haue wondered at it, but they might haue left of the sermon. xx. sondayes and neuer haue ben blamed. And thus by these impropracions priuate Masses were set vp, and preacheynge of gods worde troden vnder foote. But what doth he now? what doeth he now? he sterres men vp to outrageous rearyng of rentes, that pore men shal not be able to fynd their children at the schole to be diuines. What an vnreasonable deuill is thys? he prouides a grate while before hand for the time that is to come. He hath broughte vp nowe of late the most monstrouse kynde of couetousnes that euer was hearde of. He hath inuented fee fermynge of benefices, and al to decaye thys office of preacheynge, in so much that when any man heare after shal haue a benefice, he maye go where he wyll for any house he shal haue to dwell vpon, or any glebe lande to kepe hospitalitie withal, but he must take vp a chamber in an Alehouse and there sit and plaie at ye tables all the day. A goodlye curate. He hath caused also through this monstros kynde of couetousnes, patrons to sel their benefices. Yea what doth he more? He gettes him to the vniuersitie, and causeth great men and squiers to fend their sonnes thither, and put out pore scholars yat should be diuines: for their parentes entend not they shall be preachers, but yat they may haue a shewe of lerninge. Tut, it were to long to declare vnto you what defceit and meanes ye diuel hath found to decaie ye office of saluacion, this office of regeneration. But to return to my matter. The people came to here ye word of god, thei hard him with silence I remember nowe a saying of Sayncte Chrysofome, and peraduenture it myght come here after in better place, but yet I wyll take it, whiles it commeth to my mind. The

faying is this. *Et loquentem eum audierunt in silentio, feriem locutionis non interrumpentes.* They harde hym (sayeth he) in filence, not interruptynge the order of his preachinge. He meanes they hard hym quietly, with out any shouelynge of feete, or walkynge vp and downe. Suerly it is an yl mysorder, that folke shalbe walkyng vp and downe in the sermon tyme (as I haue sene in this place thys Lente) and there shalbe fuche buffynge and buffynge in the preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget hys matter. O let vs consider the Kynge's Maiestyes goodnes, Thys place was prepared for banketyng of the bodye, and hys Maiestye hath made it a place for the comforte of the soule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it, shewynge hereby that he would haue all hys subiectes at it, if it myghte be possible. Consider what the Kynge's Maiestye hathe done for you, he alloweth you all to heare wyth him. Consider where ye be, fyrst ye oughte to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and thoughe it be preached by pore men, yet it is the same worde that oure Sauoure spake.

Consider also the presence of the Kynge's Maiestie Gods highe vycare in earth, hauyng a respect to his personag, ye ought to haue reuerence to it, and consider that he is goddes hyghe minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of ye heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be thankfully taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Hear in filence, as Chrysofom sayeth. It maye chauce that sume in the companye may fall sicke, or be diseased, if therebe any fuche, let them go away, with filence, let them leaue their salutacions tyll they come in the courte, let them departe with filence. I toke occasion of Chrysofomes wordes to admonyshe you of thys thyng. What shold be ye cause, that our Sauoure Chryste wente into the bote? the scripture calleth it *Nauis or nauicula*. But it was no ship. it was a fishers bote, thei were not able to haue a shyp. What shoulde be the cause, why he

would not stand on the banke and preach ther, but he desired Peter to drawe ye bote some what from ye shore into ye middes of the water. What shold be ye cause? What shold be the cause? One cause was, for that he might sit their more commodiously, then on ye banke, an other cause was, for yat he was like to be thrust into ye pond of ye peple yat came vnto him. Whi? our sauour Christ might haue with stode them, he was strong inough to haue kept hymselfe from thrusting into the water. He was stronger, then they al, and if he had listid he myght haue stode on the water, as wel as he walked on the water, truth it is, so might he haue done in dede. But as it was some tyme hys pleasure to shewe the poore of hys Godheade, so he declared nowe the infirmitie and imbiciltye of hys manheade. Heare he geueth vs an example what we shall do, we must not tempt God by any miracles, so long as we may walke by ordinary wayes. As oure Sauoure Christ when the diuel hadde hym on the top of the temple, and wold haue had hym caste hym selfe doune, he made hym this aunswere. *Non tentabis dominum deum tuum.** Thou shalt not tempt thy lord God, as if he shoulde haue sayed. We maye not tempte God at all, it is no tyme nowe to shewe any miracles, ther is an other way to go doune, by gressinges. Thus he dyd to shewe vs an example, that we muste not tempte God, except it be in extreme necessitye, and when we cannot other wayes remedy the matter to leaue it all to God, elles we maye not tempt the maiestye of his deyte. Beware temptynge of God? wel, he commes to Simons bote, and why rather to Simons bote then an other. I wyl aunswere, as I finde in experience in my selfe. I came hither to day from Lambeth in a whirry and when I came to take my bote, the water men came about me, as the maner is, and he wold haue me, and he wold haue me. I toke one of them. Nowe ye wyll aske me

* Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.—Matt. iv. 7.

why I came in yat bote, rather then in another, because I woulde go into that that I se stande nexte me, it stode more commodiouse for me. And so dyd Christe by Simons bote. It stode nerer for him, he sawe a better seate in it. A good natural reason. Nowe come the papistes, and they wyll make a misterie of it, they wyll pyke out the supremesye of the Bishop of Rome in Peters bote. We maye make allegories inoughe of euerye place in scripture, but fuerli, it must nedes be a sypmple matter that standes on so weke a grounde. But ye shall se further. He desired Peter to thruste out hys bote from the shore. He desired hym. Heare was a good lesson for the Bishop of Rome, and al hys colledge of Cardinalles to learne humilitey and gentelnes. *Rogabat eum.** He desired hym, it was gently done of hym, with out any austeritie, but wyth al vrbanitie, myldnes, and softnes and humilitey. What an example is thys, that he giues them heare? but they spie it not, they can se nothyng but the supremycye of the Byshop of Rome. A wondrous thyng what fyghte they haue. They se nothyng but the supremicye of the Byshop of Rome. *Imperabatis ouibus meis, sayeth Ezechiell, cum auaricia, et austeritate, et dispersæ sunt absque pastore.*†

Ye haue ruled my shepe and commaunded them with greate lordlines, austeri[t]ye, and power, and thus ye haue disperfed my shepe a brode, and why? Ther was no shephard, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath bene many hundred yeres without a good shepard. They would not lerne to rule them gently, they had rule ouer them, but it was with cursfings excommunicacions, with great austerite, and thunderboltes, and the diuel and al, to mayntaine their vnpreachyng prelacye. I besече God open their eyes, yat they maye se the trueth, and not be blinded with those thynges, that no man can se but they. It foloweth in the texte. *Sedens docebit de nauis.*‡ He taught sittying.

* He prayed him.—Luke v. 3.

† With force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. And they were

scattered, because *there is* no shephard.—Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 5.

‡ [He] taught the people out of the ship.—Luke v. 3.

Preachers be lyke, were fitters in those daies, as it is written in a nother place. *Sedent in cathedra moisu.** They sette in the chayer of Moses.

I woulde oure preachers woulde preache fittyng, or standyng, one waye, or other. It was a godly pulpit that our Sauour Christ hadde gotten hym here. An olde rotten bote. And yet he preached hys fathers wyll, hys fathers message out of thys pulpyt. He regarded the people more then ye pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he myght do the people good. In dede it is to be commended for the preacher to stand, or sit, as the place is, but I would not haue it so superstitiously esteemed, but that a good preacher may declare ye word of god sitting on a horse, or preching in a tre. And yet if this shold be done, ye vnpreaching prelates would laughe it to skorne.

And though it be good to haue the pulpit set vp in churches, that the people may resort thither, yet I woulde not haue it so superstitiously vsed, but that in a prophane place the worde of God might be preached some times, and I woulde not haue the people offended wyth all, no more, then they be with our Sauoure Christes preachyng out of a bote.

And yet to haue pulpetes in churches it is very well done to haue them, but they woulde be occupied, for it is a vayne thyng to haue them as they stand in many churches. I harde of a Byshop of Englande that wente on visitacion and (as it was the custome) when the Byshop shoulde come and be runge into the toune, the greate belles clapper was fallen doune, the tyall was broken, so that the Byshop coulde not be runge into the toune. Ther was a greate matter made of thys, and the chiefe of the paryshe were muche blamed for it in the visitacion. The Byshop was some what quicke wyth them, and signified that he was muche offended. They made theyr aunsweres, and excused them selues, as wel as they coulde, it was a chaunce, sayd they, that ye clapper brake and we coulde not get it amended

* The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.—Matt. xxiii. 2.

by and by, we must tarrye til we can haue done it. It shal be amended as shortelye as maye be. Amonge the other there was one wyfer then the rest, and he commes me to the Bishop. Whi mi Lord, sayth he, doth your lordship mak so grat matter of the bell, that lacketh hys clapper? here is a bell, sayeth he, and poynted to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper thys. xx. yeres. We haue a parson, that fetteth out of thys benefice fiftye poundes euerye yere, but we neuer se hym. I warrant you ye Byshop was an vnpreachyng prelate. He could fynde faute wyth the bel, that wanted a clapper, to ryng hym into the toune, but he could not fynd any faut wyth the parson that preached not at his benefice. Euer thys office of preachyng hath bene least regarded, it hath skante hadde the name of goddes feruyce. They must synge. *Salue festa dies* aboute the churche, that no man was the better for it, but to shewe theyr gaie cotes, and garmentes. I came once my selfe to a place, ridyng on a iornay home warde from London, and I sente worde ouer nyghte into the toune that I would preach there in ye morninge because it was holy day, and me thought it was an holye dayes worcke, The church stode in my waye, and I toke my horffe, and my companye, and went thither, I thoughte I shoulde haue founde a greate companye in the churche, and when I came there, the churche dore was faste locked.

I tarried there halfe an houer and more, at last the keye was founde, and one of the parishe commes to me and sayes. Syr thys is a busye daye wyth vs, we can not heare you, it is Robyn hoodes daye. The parishe are gone a brode to gather for Robyn hoode, I praye you let them not. I was fayne there to geue place to Robyn hoode, I thought my rochet shoulde haue bene regarded, thoughe I were not, but it woulde not serue, it was fayn to geue place to Robyn hoodesmen.

It is no laughyng matter my friendes, it is a wepyng matter, a heauy matter, a heauy matter, vnder the pretence for gatheryng for Robyn hoode, a tray-

toure, and a thefe, to put out a preacher, to haue hys office leffe eftemed, to prefer Robyn hod before the miniftracion of Gods word, and al thys hath come of vnpreachynge prelates. Thys Realme hath ben il prouided for, that it hath had fuche corrupte iudgementes in it, to prefer Robyn hode to goddes worde. Yf the Byshoppes had bene preachers, there shoulde neuer haue bene any fuche thyng, but we haue a good hope of better. We haue had a good begynnyng, I befech God to continewe it. But I tell you, it is farre wide, that the people haue fuche iudgementes, the Byshoppes they coulde laughe at it. What was that to them? they woulde haue them continewe in their ignoraunce styll, and them felues in vnpreachyng prelacye. Wel, fyttynge, fyttynge. He fatte doune and taughte. The texte doeth tell vs that he taughte, but it doeth not tell vs what he taughte. If I were a papift I coulde tell what he fayed. I woulde in the Popes iudgemente shewe what he taught. For the Byshop of Rome hath in *scrinio pectoris fui*, the true vnderstandynge of Scriptures. Yf he cal a counfayle of colledge of Cardinalles, he hath authoritye to determyne the fupper of the Lorde, as he dyd at the counfayle of Florence.

And Pope Nicolas, and Byshoppe Langfrancke shal come and expounde thys place, and faye, that oure Sauoure Chrifte, fayed thus. Peter I do meane thys by fyttynge in thy bote that thou shalte goo to Rome, and be Byshoppe there fwe and twentie yeares, after myne ascenfion. And all thy fucceffours shal be rulers of ye vniuerfal church after ye.

Heare woulde I place alfo holye water, and hollye breade, and all vnwrytten verytes, if I were a Papifte, and that Scripture is not to be expoundyd by anye priuate interpretacion, but by oure holye father, and hys colledge of Cardinalles.

Thys is a greate dele a better place then. *duc in altum*.* But what was Chriftes fermon? it maye fone be gathered what it was. He is alwayes like him felfe.

* Launch out into the deep.—Luke v. 4.

Hys fyrste Sermon was. *pœnitentiam agite*, do penance, your luyng is naught, repente. Agayne at Nazareth, whan he redde in the temple and preached remission of fynnes, and healyng of woundyd consciences, and in the longe fermon in the mount, he was alwayes lyke hymselfe, he neuer dissented from hymselfe. O there is a writer hath a ioile text here, and hys name is, Dionisious. I chaunced to mete wyth hys boke in my Lorde of Caunterberyes librarye: he was a Monke of the charterhouffe. I maruayle to find such a sentence in that author. What taught Christ in thys fermon? Mary sayeth he, it is not written. And he addeth more vnto it. *Euangelistæ tantum scripserunt de sermonibus et miraculis christi quantum cognouerunt inspirante deo sufficere ad ædificationem ecclesiæ ad confirmationem fidei, et ad salutem animarum.* It is true it is not wrytten. Al hys miracles were not written, so neyther were al hys sermons wrytten, yet for all that the euangelistes dyd wryte so muche as was necessary. They wrote so muche of the miracles and sermons of Christ as they knewe by godes inspiracion to be sufficient for the edifyng of the church, the confirmacion of oure fayeth and the health of our soules. If thys be true as it is in dede, where be written verities? I meruayle not at the sentence but to fynde it in suche an authour. Iesus what authoriti he gyues to goddesworde. But GOD woulde that suche men shoulde be wytnesse wyth the authority of his boke, wil thei nill they.

Nowe to drawe towards an ende. It foloweth in the text *duc in altum.* Here comes in the supremitye of the Byshoppe of Rome. Whan oure Sauoure Christ had made an ende of hys fermon and had fed their soules, he prouided for theyr boddies. Fyrst he began wyth the soule. Christes worde is the fode of it. Nowe he goth to the body, he hath charge of them boeth, he gyueth fode for them boeth: we must commit the fedyng of the body and of the soule to hym.

Well, he sayeth to Peter. *duc in altum.* Launche

in to the depth, put forth thy bote farther into the deepe of the water. Lose youre nettes, nowe fyshe. As who shoulde saye, youre soules are now fedde, I haue taught you my doctrine, nowe I wyll confirme it wyth a miracle. Lo fyr here is *duc in altum*, Here Peter was made a greate man saye the Papistes, and all hys successours after hym. And thys is deriued of these fewe words. Launch into the deepe. And their argumente is thys: he spake to Peter onelye, and he spake to hym in the singlar number, ergo he gaue him such a preeminence aboue the rest. A goodly argument, I wene it be a fillogismus. *in quem terra pontus*. I will make a lyke argument, Oure Sauoure Christe sayed to Iudas, when he was about to betraye hym *quod facis fac citius*.* Nowe whan he spake to Peter ther were none of his disciples by, but Iames and Iohn, but whan he spake to Iudas they were al present. Wel, he sayd vnto him, *quod facis fac citius*. Spede thy busines, yat thou hast in thy heade, do it. He gaue him here a secreet monicion that he knewe what he intended, if Iudas had had grace to haue taken it and repented. He spake in the singlar number to him, ergo he gaue hym some preeminence. By like he made him a Cardinall, and it mighte ful wel be, for they haue folowed Iudas euer fyns. Here is as good a grounde for the Coledge of Cardinalles, as the other is for the supremitie of the Bishop of Rome. Oure Sauour Christ (say they) spake onely to Peter for preeminence, because he was chiefe of the Apostles, and you can shewe none other cause Ergo thys is the cause why he spake to hym in the syngular number. I dare saye there is neuer a whirriman at Westminster brydge, but he can answere to thys, and gyue a naturall reason for it.

He knoweth that one man is able to shoue the bote, but one man was not able to caste out the nettes, and therefore he sayed in the plural number. *laxate retia*: † Loufe youre nettes? and he sayed in the syngular

* That thou doest, do quickly.—
John xiii. 27.

† Let down your nets.—Luke v. 4.

number to Peter, launch out the bote. why? because he was able to do it.

But he spake the other in the plural number, because he was not able to conuaye the bote, and cast out the nettes to. One man coulde not do it. Thys woulde the whirry man faye, and that wyth better reason, then to make such a misterie of it, as no man can spye but they. And the cause why he spake to all, was to shewe that he wyll haue all Christen men to worcke for theyr luyng. It is he that fendes foode both for the body, and soule, but he wyll not fend it, wythout labour, He wyll haue all Christen people to labour for it, he wyll vse oure labour as a meane whereby he fendeth oure foode. Thys was a wondrous myracle of our Sauoure Christe, and dyd it not onely to allure them to hys discipleshippe, but also for our commoditie. It was a seale, a seale to feale hys doctrine wythall. Nowe ye knowe that suche as be keepars of seales, as my Lorde Chauncelour and suche other, what so euer they be, they do not all wayes seale, they haue a sealyng tyme. (For I haue harde poore men complaine, that thei haue bene put of from tyme to tyme of sealyng to another, tyll all theyr money were spent). And as they haue tymes to feale in, so oure Sauoure Christ had hys tyme of sealyng. When he was here in earth, wyth his Apostles, and in the tyme of the primitiue church, Christes doctrine was sufficientely sealed already wyth seales of hys owne makynge, what shoulde oure seales do? What nede we to seale his seale? it is a confirmed doctrine alredi. O Luther, when he came into that worlde fyrst, and disputed agaynst the decretales, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Estrauagantines, what a do had he. But ye wyll faye peraduenture he was deceyued in some thynges I wil not take vpon me to defend him in al pointes, I wil not stand to it, yat al that he wrot was true, I thinke he woulde not so hym selfe. For there is no man, but he maye erre. He came to further and further knowledge, (but fuerly he was a goodli instrument). Wel I say, when he

preached fyrste they called vpon him to do myracles, thei were wrought before. And so we nede to do no miracl[e]s. In dede when the popish prelates preached fyrst, thei had nede of miracles, and the deuil wroughte some in the preachynge of purgatorye. But what kynde of miracles these were, all Englande doeth knowe, but it wil not knowe. A wounderfull thinge, that the people wyl contynewe in theyr blyndnes and ignoraunce stil. We haue greate vtilitie of the miracles of oure sauour Iesus Christe. He doth signifye vnto vs, by this wonderful worcke, yat he is Lord as wel of ye water as of the land. A good comfort for those yat be on ye water, when thei be in ani tempest, or daunger to call vpon him. The fishe here came at his commaundement. Here we maye learne that all thynges in the water are subiecte to Christe. Peter sayed. Syr, wee haue laboured all nighte, and haue not caught one fynne, howe be it at youre word we wyll to it a freshe. By this it appereth that ye gaine, the lucre, the reuenewes that we get, must not be imputed to oure labour, we maye not say, gramercy labour: it is not oure labour, it is our sauour Christ that fendeth vs liuyng, yet muste we labour, for he that sayed to Peter labour, and he that bad the fyshers laboure, biddes all menne to labour in theyr busines. There be some people that ascribe their gaynes, theyr encrease, gotten by anye facultye, to the deuil. Is ther any trowe ye in England would fay so? Nowe if any man shoulde come to an other, and fay he gat hys lyuyng by the dyuell, he would fall out wyta hym. There is not a man in Englande that so fayeth, yet is there some that thyncke it. For al yat get it with false biyng and fellyng, wyth circumuention, wyth vfury, impostures, mixte wares, false waightes, deceyuyng theyr Lordes and maisters, all those, that get theyr goodes on thys fashon, what do they thyncke, but that the deuil fendes them gaynes and ryches. For they be hys (beyng vnlawefully gotten) What is thys to fay, but that the dyuell is author of theyr gaynes when they be so gotten? For God

inhabites them. *deus non uolens iniquitatem tu es.** God wylno iniquitie. These folke are greatly deceiued. There be some againe impute al to their laboures and workes.

Yea, on the hollye day, they can not fynde in their hertes to come to the Temple, to the blessed communion, they must be working at home. These are wid againe on the other side. And some there be yat thinke, if they worke nothings at al, they shal haue inough, they wil haue no good exercise, but gape and thinke that god wil fend meat into their mouthes, and these are as far wide: they muste worke, he bad the fishers worcke. Our Sauour Christ bad Peter worke, and he that sayed so to them, sayes the same to vs, euerye man in his arte. *benedictio dei facit diuitem.†*

The blessing of God maketh a man ryche. He lettes hys sonne shyne vpon the wycked, aswell as vpon the good, he fendes ryches boeth to good and bad.

But thys blessing turnes to them into a malediction and a curse, it encrefeth their damnacion. Sayncte Paulle wrytynge to the Theffalonians, dyd put an order howe euerye man shoulde worcke in hys vocation. *Cum essemus apud uos, hoc precipiebamus uobis, ut si quis nollei operari, is nec edat.‡*

When I was amonge you (sayeth he) I made thys ordinaunce, that whosoever wold not do the worcke of hys vocation, shoulde haue no meate. It were a good ordinaunce in a common weale, that euerye man sholde be set on worke, euery man in hys vocation. Lette hym haue no mete. Nowe he sayeth furthermore. *Audiuimus quosdam inter uos uersantes inordinate, nihil operis facientes.§* I here saye, there is some amongest you, that lyues inordinatelye. What is that word inordinatelye? ydelye, gyuyng them selues to no occupacion for theyr lyuyng. *Curiose agentes.§* Curiose men, gyuen to curiositye, to searchoyng what other men do. Saynct Paule sayeth, he harde saye, he

* And canst not look on iniquity. —Hab. i. 13.

† The blessing of the LORD, it maketh rich.—Prov. x. 22.

‡ For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any

would not work, neither should he eat.—2 Thess. iii. 10.

§ For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busy-bodies.—2 Thess. iii. 11.

could not tell whether it were so or no. But he toke occasion of hearynge faye, to sette out a good and holsome doctrine. *his autem qui sunt eiusmodi præcipimus, et obsecramus.**

We commaund and desier you for the reuerence of God, if ther be any sūche, that they wyll do the worckes of their vocacion, and go quietly to their occupation, and so eate theyr owne bread, ells it is not theyr owne, it is other mens meate. Oure Sauour Christ before he began hys preachynge, lyued of hys occupation, he was a carpenter, and gat hys liuyng wyth greate labour.

Therefore let no manne disdayne, or thincke skorne to folowe hym in a meane liuyng, a meane vocation, or a common callyng and ocupacion. For as he blessed oure nature wyth takynge vpon hym the shape of man, so in hys doynge he blessed al ocupacions and artes. This is a notable example to signify yat he abhorres al idlenes. When he was a Carpenter, then he went, and dyd the worke of hys callyng, and when he was a preacher he dyd the worckes of that calling. He was no vnpreachyng prelate. The Byshoppe of Rome shoulde haue learned that at him. And these gayners with false artes what be they? They are neuer contente wyth that they haue, though it be neuer so muche. And they yat are true dealers, are fatified with that god sendes, though it be neuer so litle *quæstus magnus pietas, cum animo sua sorte contento.†* Godlines is great gayne.

It is lucre inoughe, it is vantage inoughe to be content with that, that God sendes. The fayethfull can not lacke, the vnfaythfull is euer lackynge, though he haue neuer so much. I wil nowe make an ende. *labores manuum tuarum.‡* Let vs al labour. Christe teacheth vs to labour, yea the Byshop of Rome hym selfe, he teacheth him to labour rather then to be

* Now them that are such we commaund and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.—2 Thess. iii. 12.

† Godliness with contentment is great gain.—1 Tim. vi. 6.

‡ For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands; happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.—Psa. cxxviii. 2.

hedde of the church. Let vs put our trust in God. *Labores manuum tuarum.* Caste thy care vpon the Lord and he wyll norishe the and fede the. Agayne the Prophet sayeth. *Numquam uidi iustum derelictum nec semen eius querens panem.**

I neuer sawe the ryghtuouse man forsaken, nor hys feede to seke his bread. It is infidelytye, infidelitye, that marres all together.

Well to my texte. *labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis, beatus es et bene tibi erit etc.* Because thou eatest the labors of thy handes, that, yat God fendes the of thy labour. Euey man must labour, yea though he be a Kyng yet he muste labour, for I knowe no man hath a greater labour then a Kyng. What is his labour? To studye goddes boke, to see yat there be no vnpreachynge prelates in his realme, nor bribing Iudges, to se to all estates, to prouyde for the poore, to see vittales good chepe. Is not this a labour trowe ye? thus if thou duste labour, exercisyng the worckes of thy vocatyon, thou eatest the meate that god fendes the, and then it followeth. *Beatus es.* Thou art a blessed manne in Goddes fauour. *Et bene tibi erit.* And it shall go well wyth the in this world, both in bodye and soule, for God prouides for both. Howe shalte thou prouyde for thy soule? go here Sermons. Howe for the boddy? labour in thy vocation, and then shall it be well wyth

the, bothe here and in the worlde to come
through the fayth and merites
of our sauiour Iesus Chryst,
To whom with the father
and the holy gost, be
prayse for euer and
euer, world with
oute ende.

Amen.

The ende of the. vi.
Sermon.

* I have been young, and now am forsaken, nor his seed begging bread, old, yet have I not seen the righteous —Psa. xxxvii. 25.

The seventh

Sermon of Maister Hughe

Latimer, whpyche he preached before
the Kinges Maiestye wythin
hys Graces Palaice at
Westminster the
xix. daye of
Aprill.



*Væcunq̄ scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thynges yat be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thys texte (most honorable audience) I haue walked thys Lente in the brode filde of scripture and vsed my libertie, and intreated of such matters

as I thought, mete for this auditory. I haue had a do wyth many estates, euen with the highest of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Iudges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good, and disalowng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all fynners, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all faye, yea all the packe of vs, *peccauimus cum patribus nostris.*† We haue offended and synned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes*‡ There is none of vs al, but we haue in sondry things greuously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of synne. We be in the place of repentaunce, nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in

* Rom. xv. 4. † We have ‡ In many things we offend all.—
sinned with our fathers.—Psa. cvi 6. Jam. iii. 2.

this worlde. We be all synners, euen the best of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of synne. This day is commonlye called good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accustomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembraunce of the passion of our sauour Iesu Christ. This daye we haue in memory hys bytter Passion and death, which is the remedy of our syn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the story of hys passion. I am notable to intreat of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre soules and myne both, I shal desyre you to praye etc. In thys prayer, I wyll desyre you to remember the soules departed, wyth laudes and prayse to almyghtie God, that he woulde vouchsafe to affyste them at the hour of their death. In so dooyng, you shalbe put in remembraunce to praye for your selues, that it may please G O D to affyste and comforte you in the agonies and paines of death.

The place that I wyll intreat of is in the. xxvi. Chapter, of saynte Mathewe, Howebeit, as I intreat of it I wyll borrowe parte of Saynte Marke and saynt Luke, for they haue somwhat, that saynt Mathew hath not, and especially Luke.* The texte is. *Tunc cum uenisset Iesus in uillamquæ dicitur gethsemani.*† Then when Iesus came, some haue in *uillam* some in *agrum*, some in *prædium*. But it is all one, when Christ came into a Graunge, into a peace of land, into a felde, it makes no matter, cal it what ye wyl, at what tyme he had come into an honest mans house, and ther eaten hys pasquall lambe, and instituted and celebrate the lordes supper, and sette furth the blessed communion, then when this was done, he toke his way to the place, where he knewe Iudas would come. It was a solitarie place and thither he wente with hys leauen Apostles. For Iudas the twelste was a bouthe his busines, he was occupied

* Matt. xxvi. 36-44; Mark xiv. 32-35; Luke xxii. 39-44; John xviii. 1.

† Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane.—Matt. xxvi. 36.

aboute his marchaundise, and was prouydyng among the byshoppes and preistes, to come with an imbushment of Iewes to take our sauour Iesus Christ.

And when he was come into this felde, or grandge, this village, or ferme place, which was called Gethsemani, there was a Garden sayth Luke, into the whych he goeth, and leues. viii. of hys disciples without, howbeit he appoynted them what they shold do. He sayth *Sedete hic, donec uadam illuc, et orem.** Sit you here whiles I go yonder and prai. He told them that he went to pray, to monish them what they should do, to fall to praier as he dyd. He lefte them there, and toke no more with him but. iii. Peter, Iames, and Ihon to teach vs that a solitari place is mete for prayer. Then when he was come into this garden, *Cæpiet expauescere.†* He began to trimble, in so much he sayed. *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem.‡* My soule is heauye and pencyue, euen vnto death. Thys is a notable place, and one of the most especiall and chefeste of all that be in the storrye of the passion of Christe. Here is oure remedye. Here we must haue in consideracion, all hys doynge and sayeinges for oure learnynge, for oure edification, for oure comforth, and consolacion.

Firste of all he set hys thre Disciples that he toke wyth hym in an order, and toulde theym what they shoulde do, sayinge. *Sedete hic et uigilate mecum et orate.‡*

Sytte here, and praye that ye enter not into temptacion, but of that I wyll entreate afterwarde. Nowe when he was in the Garden, *cæpit expauescere.†* He beganne to be heauye, pencyue, heauye harted. I lyke not Oregens playeing wyth this word *cæpit*, it was a perfect heauynes, it was suche a one as was neuer sene the grater, it was not onely the begynning of a sorow. These doctours, we haue greate cause to thanke God for them, but yet I would not haue them alwayes to

* Sit here, while I go and pray yonder.—Matt. xxvi. 36.

† Began to be sorrowful and very heavy.—Matt. xxvi. 37.

‡ My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me.—Matt. xxvi. 38.

be allowed. They haue handled many poyntes of our fayth verye godly, and we may haue a greate staie in them in mani thinges, we might not wel lake them, but yet I woulde not haue men to be sworne to them, and so adicte as to take hand ouer hed whatfoeuer they say, it were a great inconuenience so to do. Wel, let vs go forward. He toke Peter, Iames and Ihon into thys garden. And why dyd he take them wyth hym, rather then other? mary those that he had taken before, to whom he had reueled in the hyl, the transfiguracion and declaracion of his deitye, to se ye reuelacion of ye maiestie of his godhead: now in the garden he reueled to the same ye infirmity of his manhood, because they had tasted of the swete, he would thei should tast also of the fower. He toke these wyth hym at boeth tymes, for two or thre is inoughe to beare witnes. And he began to be heuy in hys mynd. He was greatlye vexed wythin hym selfe, he was fore afflicted, it was a gret heauines, he had bene heaue many times before, and he had suffered greate afflictions in hys soule, as for the blyndenes of the Iewes, and he was like to suffer mo panges of paine in hys body. But thys pange was greater then any he euer suffred yea, it was a greater torment vnto hym I thynke, a greater payne then when he was hanged on the croffe, then when the flower nayles were knocked and driuen throughe hys handes and fete, then when the sharpe crowne of thornes was thrust on hys head. Thys was the heauines and pensiuenes of hys hearte, the agony of the spirit. And as the soule is more precious then the bodye: euen so is the paine of the soule more greuous then the paynes of the body. Therefore ther is another which writteth. *horror mortis grauior ipsa morte.* The horroure and vgsomnes of death is forer then death it selfe. This is the moste greuous paine, that euer christ suffered, euen this pang, that he suffered in the garden. It is the most notable place one of them in the whole storie of ye passion, when he sayed. *Anima mea tristis est usque ad mortem.** My

* Matt. xxvi. 37, 38 : see previous page.

foule is heauy to death. And *cum cœpisset expauescere* and when he began to quiuer, to shake. The greuoufnes of it is declared by hys prayer yat he made. *pater si possibile est etc.** Father if it be possible, a way with this cup, rid me of it. He vnderstod by this cup his paines of death. For he knewe well inoughe that hys passion was at hand, that Iudas was come vpon hym with the Iewes to take him. There was offered vnto hym nowe the Image of death, the Image, the fence, the felynge of hell, for death and hell go both together. I wyl entreate of thys Image of hell, whyche is death. Truelye no manne can shewe it perfectlye, yet I wyl do the best I can to make you vnderstand ye greuouse panges that oure Sauioure Christe was in when he was in the garden, as mans power is not able to beare it, so no mans tong is able to expresse it. Paynters painte death lyke a man without skin, and a body hauyng nothing but bones. And hel they paint it, horrible flames of brenning fier, they bungell some what at it, thei come no thing nere it. But thys is no true payntyng. No paynter can paynte hel vnlesse he coulde paynte the torment and condemnation both of body and soule, ye possession and hauyng of all in felicitie. Thys is hel, this is ye Image of death this is hell, such an euyl faouered face, such an vgfome countenaunce, such an horrible vyfage our fauour Christ sawe of death and hell in the gardayn. There is no pleasure in beholdyng of it, but more payne then anye tounge can tell. Death and hell toke vnto them thys euyl faouered face of sine, and thorough synne. This synne is so hyghly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished wyth lacke of all felicitie, with the fealyng of infelicitie. Death and hell be not only the wages, the reward, ye stipend of sin, but they are brought into ye world by sinne, *per peccatum mors†* sayth S Paule, throughe synne deathe

* O my Father, if it be possible, xxvi. 39.
let this cup pass from me.—Matt. † Death by sin.—Rom. v. 12.

entered into the world. Moses sheweth the first comming in of it into the world. Where as our fyrst father Adam was set at libertie to lyue for euer, yet God inhibytinge hym from eatyng of the Aple, tould hym, If thou meddle with this fruite, thou and all thy posteritie shall fal into necessitie of death from euer luyng, *morte morieris*, thou and all thy posteritie shalbe subiect to deathe, here came in death and hell. Synne was their mother. Therefore they must haue suche an Image as their mother sinne would geue them. An vgsome thing and an horrible Image must it nedes be that is brought in by such a thyng so hated of God, yea this face of death and hell is so terrible, that suche as hath bene wycked men had rather be hanged than a byde it. As Achitophell that traytoure to Daudid lyke an ambyciouse wretche thought to haue come to higher promocion, and therefore conspired with Absolom against hys maister Daudid. He when he sawe hys counfayle toke no place, goes and hanges hym selfe, in contemplacion of thys euyl fauored face of death. Iudas also when he came wyth busumentes to take his maister Christe in beholdyng thys horrible face hanged himselfe.

Yea the electe people of God, the faythful hauinge the beholdyng of thys face, (though God hath alwayes preferued them, suche a good God he is to them that beleue in hym, that he wyll not suffer them to be tempted aboue that, that they haue bene able to beare) yet for all that, there is nothyng that they complaine more fore then of thys horroure of death.

Go to Iob. What sayeth he? *Pereat dies in quo natus sum, suspendium elegit anima mea.** Wo worth ye day that I was borne in, my soule wolde be hanged, saying in his panges almooste he wylde not what.

Iob cursed ye day of hys death when he did inwardly behold ye horroure of death.

Thys was when wyth the eye of hys conscience, and the inwarde man he behelde the horroure of death and hel, not for any bodylye payne that he suffered

* Let the day perish wherein I was born.—Job iii. 3.

for when he hadde byles, botches, blaynes, and scabbes, he suffered them pacientlye, he coulde saye then : *Si bona suscepi de manu Domini. etc.**

If we haue receyued good thynges of God, why shoulde we not suffer likewyse euyl? It was not for any suche thyng, that he was so vexed, but the fyght of thys face of death and hel, was offered to hym so lyuely that he wolde haue bene oute of thys worlde. It was thys euyl fauored face of death that so troubled hym. Kyng Dauid also sayed, in contemplacion of thys vgsome face. *Laborauit in gemitu meo.* † I haue bene fore vexed with fighyng and mourning. *Turbatus est a furore oculus meus.* ‡

Myne eye hath bene greatlye troubled in my rage. A straung thyng, when he had to fyghte wyth Goliath that monstrous giante, who was able to haue eaten hym, he coulde abyde hym, and was nothyng a frayed and now what a worcke? what exclamacions makes he at the fyghte of death? Ionas lykewyse was bold inoughe, to byd the shypmen cast hym into the sea, he had not yet fene that face and vyfage, but when he was in the Whales belly, and had there the beholdyng of it, what terror and distresse abode he? Ezechias when he sawe Senacherib beseigyng hys citey oneuerye syde most violentlye, was nothyng a frayde of the greate hoste and myghtye army that was lyke to destroye hym oute of hande, yet he was a frayed of deathe. When the Prophet came vnto hym, and sayed. *Dispone domini tuæ, morte morieris, et non viues.* §

It stroke him so to the harte that he fel a wepyng. O Lord what an horror was this? Ther be some writers that saies that Peter, Iames and Ihon, were in

* Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?—Job ii. 10.

† I am weary with my groaning.—Psa. vi. 6.

‡ Mine eye is consumed because of grief.—Psa. vi. 7.

§ Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live.—2 King. xx. 1.

thys felynge at the same tyme and that Peter when he fayed : *Exi a me domine quia homo peccator sum.**

Did tast some part of it he was so astonysed, he wist not what to faye. It was not longe that they were in thys anguyfhe, some sayes longer, some shorter but Christ was readye to comferte them, and fayed to Peter.

Ne timeas,† Be not afraied. A frend of myne tolde me of a certayne woman, that was. xviii. yeares to gether in it. I knewe a man my self Bilney, litle Bilnei, that blessed martyr of GOD, what tyme he had borne hys fagott, and was come agayne to Cambrydge hadde fuche conflyctes, wythin hym felfe, beholdynge thys Image of death, that hys frendes were a frayed to lette hym be alone, they were fayne to be wyth hym daye and nyght, and comforted hym, as they coulde, but no comfortes woulde ferue. As for the comfortable places of scripture to brynge theym vnto hym, it was as though a man woulde runne hym throughe the herte wyth a fweard. Yet afterwarde for all thys he was reuiued, and toke his death pacientlye, and dyed wel againste the Tirannical sea of Rome. Wo, wil be to that byshoppe that had the examynacyon of hym, if he repented not. Here is a good lesson for you my fryendes. If euer ye come in daunger, in duraunce, in pryson for godes quarrell, and hys sake, (as he dyd for purgatorye matters, and put to beare a fagot for preachynge the true worde of God agaynste pilgremage and fuche lyke matters) I wyl aduyse you fyrst and aboue al thing to abiure al your fryendes, all your frindeshipe, leaue not one vnabiured, it is they that shall vndo you, and not your ennemyes. It was his very frendes, that brought Bylnye to it. By this it maye somewhat appere what oure fauyour Christe suffered, he doeth not diffemble it hym felfe, when he

Lytle Bilney the blessed martir of god had wonderfull conflyctes in his mindes.

Bylney toke hys death paciently.

A god leasson for suche as are in pryson for ye wordes sake.

* Depart from me : for I am a sinful man, O Lord,—Luke v. 8.

† Fear not.—Luke v. 10.

sayth, my soule is heauye to death, he was in so fore
 an Agony, that there issued out of hym
 as I shal entreate anone, droppes of bloud,
 an vgsome thing fuerly, whiche his fact and dede sheweth
 vs, what horrible paynes he was in for oure sakes.

But you wyll saye, howe can thys be? It were
 possible that I and suche other, as be
 greate fynners shoulde suffer suche affliction.
 The sonne of God, what ours
 Sauioure Christe? neuer fynned, howe
 can thys stande that he shoulde be thys handeled?
 he neuer deserued it. Mary I wyl tell how we must
 consider oure Sauiour Christe two wayes, one way in
 hys manhode, another in his Godhed. Some places
 of scripture must be referred to hys deitie, and some
 to his humanitie. In hys godhed he
 suffered nothyng, but nowe he made
 hym selfe voide of hys deity, as scripture
 sayth. *Cum esset in forma dei exinaniuit seipsum.**

Where as he was in the forme of God, he emptyed
 hym selfe of it, he dyd hyde it, and vsed him selfe as
 though he had not had it, he woulde not helpe hym
 selfe wyth hys godhede, he humbled him selfe with al
 obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse thys
 was in yat he was man, he toke vpon hym
 our synnes, our synnes, not the worcke of
 synnes. I meane not so, not to do it, not
 to commyt it, but to purge it, to cleanse it, to beare the
 stypende of it, and that waye he was the
 great synner of the worlde, he bare all the
 synne of the worlde on hys backe, he
 woulde become detter for it.

Nowe to sustayne and suffer the doloures of death, is
 not to synne, but he came into thys worlde, wyth hys
 passyon to purge our synnes. Nowe thys
 that he suffered in the Gardaine is on[e], of
 the bittrest peces of al hys passyon, thys

How Chryst
 toke vpon him
 our synnes.

Whych way
 Chryst was ye
 greate synner
 of the whole
 world.

Chrystes suf-
 feryng in the
 garden was
 one of the byt-

* Who, being in the form of God obedient unto death, even the death he humbled himself, and became of the cross.—Phil. ii. 8.

feare of death was the byttereste payne that euer he abode, dewe to fyn which he neuer did, but became detter for vs. Al this he suffer for vs, thys he dyd to satisfefye for our fynnes. It is much like as if I oughte another man. xx. M. [thoufand] poundes, and shulde paye it out of hande, or elles go to the dungen of ludgate, and when I am goynge to pryfon, one of my friendes should come, and aske, whether goeth thys man? And after he had harde the matter, shulde faye, let me aunfwere for hym, I wylbe come fuertye for hym. Yea, I wyll paye all for hym. Suche a parte played our fauour Christe wyth vs. If he had not suffered thys, I for my part shoulde haue suffered, accordynge to the grauitie and qualitie of my fynnes, damnacion. For the greater the fynne is, the greater is the punyshment in hell. He suffered for you and me in suche a degre, as is dewe to al ye finnes of the whole world. It was as if you woulde immagin that one man had commytted al the fynnes since Adam, you maye be sure he shoulde be punished wyth the fame horroure of death in suche a forte as al men in the worlde shoulde haue suffered. Feyne and put case our sauyour Christe, had committed al the finnes of the world, al that I for my parte haue done, al that you for youre parte haue done, and that anye manne elles hath done, if he hade done all thys him self, his agony that he suffered shoulde haue bene no greater nor greuoufer, then it was. This that he suffered in the garden was a portion I fay of hys passion and one of the bitterest partes of it. And this he suffered for oure fynnes and not for anye fynnes that he had commytted hym selfe, for al we should haue suffered euey man accordynge to his owne desertes.

terest peces of
al his passion

Al this he
He declares
what Chryst
dyd for vs by
a similitude.

The greater
the synne is,
the greater is
the payne.

His suffering
in the garden
was bytter and
paynfull.

This he dydde of his goodnes, partelye to purge and cleanse our fynnes, partlye, because he would tast, and fele our myse-

Why Christ
suffred suche
paynes in the
garden.

ries, *Quo posses succurrere nobis.** that he should the rather helpe and relieue vs, and partly he suffered to geue vs example, to behaue our selues as he dyd. He dyd not suffer, to discharge vs cleane from death, to

All men shall behold the vgsome face of death.

kepe vs cleane, from it, not to tast of it. Nay nay, you muste not take it so. We shall haue the beholding of this vgsome face euery one of vs, we shal fele it our selues. Yet oure

How we shall ouercome death.

fauour Christ dyd suffer, to the entente, to sygnifye to vs, that death is ouercomable. We shal in dede ouercome it, yf we repente, and acknowledge that our fauour Iesu Christe pacified with his panges and paynes the wrath of the father, hauynge a loue to walke in the wayes of God, yf we beleue in Iesus Christ, we shal ouercome death, I say, it shal not preuaile agaynst vs. Wherfor whensoeuer it chaunfeth the my frende, to haue the tast-

What is to be done when the horror of death comes.

yng of thys death, that thou shalte be temted wyth thys horror of deathe, what is to be done then? whensoeuer thou felest thy soule heauy to death, make haste, and resorte to this gardaine, and with thys faith thou shalt ouercome thys terrour when it commeth. Oh it was a greuous

Why Chryst suffred suche payn in the garden.

thyng, that Chryste suffered here. Oh the greatnes of his dolour that he suffered in the garden, partlye to make amendes for our sinnes, and partly to delyuer vs from deathe, not so, that we shoulde not dye bodylye, but that thys death should be away to a better lyfe, and to destroye and ouercome hell. Oure Sauyoure Chryst had a gardayne, but he had littel pleasure in it. You haue many goodly gardaynes, I wold you would in the myddes of them confyder what agonye our sauyoure

A meditation for vs in oure gardaynes.

Chryst suffred in hys gardayne. A goodly meditacion to haue in youre gardaines. It shal occasyon you to delight no farther in vanities, but to remembre what he suffred for you. It

* For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted.— Heb. ii. 18.

maye drawe you from synne? It is a good monumente, a good fygne, a good monycyon to confyder howe he behaued him felse in this garden.

Well he fayeth to hys Discyple. Sytte here and praye wyth me. He wente a lytle way of, as it were a stones cast from them, and falles to hys prayer, and faieth : *Pater si possibile est transeat a me calix iste.**

Father if it be possyble. Awaye wyth thys bytter cuppe thys outrageous payne. Yet after he correctes him felse, and sayes : *Veruntamen non sicut ego volo sed sicut tu vis.†*

Not my wyll but thy wyll be done O Father. Here is a good medytacyon for Chrysten menne, at all tymes, and not onelye vpon good fryday, lette good fryday be euerye day to a Christian manne to knowe, to vse hys passyon to that ende and purpose, not to reade the storye, but to take the fruyte of it.

Euerye daye should be good fryday to a Chrysten man.

Some menne if they hadde bene in thys agonye, woulde haue runne them selues through with theyr swardes as Saule dyd, some woulde haue hangged theym selues, as Achitophell dyd.

i. Samu. xxxi.
ii. Samu. xvij.

Lette vs not folowe these menne. they be no exam- ples for vs, but lette vs folowe Christe, whyche in hys agonye reforted to hys father wyth hys praier. This must be our patrone to worke by. Here I might dilate the matter as touchynge prayinge to Saynctes, here we maye learne not to praye to Sayntes. Christe byddes vs. *Ora patrem qui est in caelis.‡*

We muste pray to God and not to saynctes.

Praye to thy father that is in heauen, to the crea- tor, and not to any creature. And therefore awaye with these auowryes. Let god alone be oure auowry, what haue we to do to runne hither or thither, but onlye to the father of heauen. I wyl not tarye to speake of thys matter.

* O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

as thou wilt.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

† Nevertheless not as I will, but

‡ Pray ye : Our Father which art in heaven.—Matt. vi. 9.

The seventh sermon

Our Sauour Christe fet hys disciples in an ordre and commaunded them to watch, and praye, sayinge : *Vigilate et orate.**

Watch and praye. Wherto shoulde they watch and pray? he sayeth by and by: *Ne intretis in tentationem.** That ye enter not into temptacion. He byddes them not, praye that they be not tempted, for that is as muche to say, as to prai that we should be out of thys world. Ther is no man in thys worlde wythout temptacion. It the tyme of prosperyte we are tempted to wantonnes, pleasures, and all lyghtnes, in tyme of aduerfyte to dispayre in goddes goodnes. Temptacion neuer ceasses.

A dyfference betwene being tempted & entryng into temptacion.

Ther is a difference betwene beyng tempted and entryng into temptacion. He byddes therefore not to praye that they be not tempted but that they enter not into temptacion. To be tempted is no euyll thyng.

For what is it? no more then when the fleshe, the diuell and the worlde doeth folycyte and moue vs agaynst God.

To geue place to these suggestions, and to yelde oure felues, and suffer vs to be ouer comme of them, thys is to enter into temptacyon. Our sauoure Christe knewe that they shoulde be greuouly tempted and therefore he gaue them warnynge, that they shoulde not geue place to temptacyon, nor dyf payre at hys death. And yf they chaunched to forsake hym, or to runne awaye, in case they tripped or swarued, yet to come agayne.

But oure Sauour Chryste dyd not onely commaunde hys dyfcyple to praye, but fell downe vpon hys knees flat vpon the grounde and prayed hym selfe, sayinge : *Pater si fieri potest transeat a me calix iste.†* Father, delyuer me of this pange and payne that I am in, thys outragious payne.

* Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation.—Matt. xxvi. 41. let this cup pass from me.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

† O my Father if it be possible.

This word, father, came euen from the bowels of hys harte, when he made hys mone, as who shoulde faye, father ryd me, I am in suche payne that I can be in no greater? Thou art my father, I am thy sonne. Can the father forsake his sonne in suche anguifhe. Thus he made hys mone. Father take away this horrour of deathe from me, ryd me of thys payne, suffer me not to be taken whan Iudas comes, suffer me not to be hanged on the crosse, suffer not my handes to be perced with nayles nor my harte wyth the sharpe speare. A wonderfull thyng, that he shoulde so oft tel his disciples of it before, and nowe when he cometh to the poynte, to desyre to be rydde of it, as though he woulde haue bene disobedient to the wyl of his father. Afore he sayed, he came to suffer, and now he sayes, a waye wyth thys cuppe. Who woulde haue thoughte that euer thys geare should haue come oute of Christes mouthe? What a case is this? What shuld a man say? You muste vnderstand, that Christe tooke vpon hym our infyrmities, of the whych thys was one to be forye at deathe. Amonge the styppendes of synne this was on[e] to trimble at the crosse, this is a punyshement for oure synne.

Chryst toke
vpon hym all
our infirmities,
except
syn.

It goeth otherwayes wyth vs, then wyth Christe, yf we were in lyke case, and in like agony, almost we woulde curse God, or rather wyshe that there were no God. Thys that he sayed, was not of that sorte, it was referrynge the matter to the wyll of hys father, but we seke by al meanes be it righte, be it wrong of oure owne nature to be ryd out of payne, he desyred it condicionally, as it myghte stande, wyth hys fathers wyll, addyng a *Veruntamen** to it.

So his request was to shewe the infyrmytye of man, here is now an example what we shal do, when we are in lyke case.

He neuer deserued it, we haue. He had a *Veruntamen** a not wythstandynge,

An example
for vs when
we are tempted.

* Nevertheless.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

let vs haue fo to, we muſte haue a neuertheles, thy wyll be done and not myne.

Geue me grace to be contente to ſubmitte my wyl vnto thyne. Hys facte teacheth vs what to do. Thys
 When we are in Agonye what phisyck we ſhuld vse. is oure ſurgerye, oure phyſyke, when we be in Agonye, And reken vpon it frendes, we ſhal come to it, we ſhal feele it, at one tyme or an other.

What does he nowe? what came to paſſe nowe, when he had harde no voyce? hys father was domme.

He reſortes to hys frendes, ſeking ſome comfort at theyr handes ſeynge he hade none at hys fathers hande, he comes to hys diſciples, and fyndes them a ſlepe, he ſpake vnto Peter, and ſaied. Ah Peter arte thou a ſlepe, Peter before had bragged ſtoutly, as thoughe he woulde haue kylled, God haue mercye vpon hys ſoule. And nowe when he ſhoulde haue comforted Chriſt, he was a ſlepe, not once buſſe, nor baſſe to him, not a word, he was fayne to ſaye to hys diſciples: *Vigilate et orate*,* Watche and pray, the ſpirit is ready, but the fleſhe is weake, he had neuer a worde of them agayne. They myght at the leſte haue ſayed. Oh Syr remember your ſelfe, are not you Chriſte came not you into thys world, to redeme ſynne, be a good cheare, be a good comforth, this ſorrow wil not healpe you, comforte youre ſelfe by your owne preachynge, you haue ſayed: *Oportet filium hominis pati*,† You haue not deſerued any thing, it is not your faulte. In dede if they had done thys wyth hym, they had played a frendlye parte wyth hym, but they gaue hym not ſo muche as one comfortable worde. We ronne to our frendes in our dyſtreſſes and Agonyes, as though we had al oure truſte and confydence in theym, he dyd not ſo, he reſorted to them, but truſted not in theym, we wyll ronne to our frendes and come no more to God, he returned agayn.

What ſhall we not reſorte to oure frendes in tyme

* Watch and pray.—Matt. xxvi. 41. Thus it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer.

† The Son of man muſt ſuffer.— —Luke xxiv. 46.
 Luke ix. 22.

of nede? and trowe ye we shal not fynde them a slepe? yes I warrante you, and when we nede theyr helpe most, we shal not haue it. But what shal we do, when we shall fynde lacke in theym? we wyll crye out vpon theym, vpbrayde them, chyde, braule, fume, chaufe and backbite them. But Chryst dyd not so, he excused hys fryendes, fayinge :

*Vigilate et orate spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.** Oh (quouth he) watch and pray, I fe wel the spirite is ready, but the fleshe is weake. What meaneth this? fuerelye it is a comfortable place. For as longe as we lyue in thys worlde, when we be at the best, we haue no more but. *Promptitudinem spiritus cum infirmitate carnis*, The redynesse of the spirite with the infirmite of the flesh. The verye Saynctes of God fayed : *Velle adest mihi*,† My wyl is good, but I am not able to performe it, I haue bene with some, and fayne they woulde, fayne they woulde, there was redines of spirite, but it woulde not be. It greued them that they coulde not take thynges, as they should do.

The fleshe resyfleth the worcke of the holy Gost in oure herte, and lettes it, lettes it. We haue to praye euer to God O prayer, praier, that it myght be vsed in thys Realme as it oughte to be of all menne, and speycallye of Magystrates, of Counsaylers, of greate Rulers, to praye, to praye, that it woulde please God to putte Godly policies in their hertes. Call for asyft-
 aunce. I haue heard say, when that good quene that is gon had ordeined in her house, dayly prayer both before none, and after none, the admyral gettes hym oute of the waye, lyke a moule diggyng in the earth. He shalbe Lottes wyfe to me as long as I lyue. He was a couetous manne, an horrible couetous manne, I wolde there were no mo in England. He was an ambicious man.

How ye fleshe resistis.

M L. wisheth prayer to be vsed.

The admiral was a contempnar of commun praier

* Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation : the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.— Matt. xxvi. 41.

† To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not.— Rom. vii. 18.

I woulde there were no mo in Englande. He was a fedicious man, a contemnar of commune prayer, I would there were no mo in England, he is gone, I wold he had left none behind him: Remember you my lordes, that you pray in your houses to the better mortification of your fleshe. Remember god must be honored, I wyl you to praye that God wyl continew his spirit in you. I do not put you in comfort, that yf ye haue once the spirit, ye cannot lose it, Ther be new spirites start vp now of late, that saye, after we haue receyued the spiryt, we cannot synne. I wyll make but one argument. Saynt Paule had broughte the Galathyans to the possefyon of the fayth, and left them in that state, they had receiued the spirit once, but they synned agayne, as he testified of them him selfe. He sayeth: *Currebatis bene*.^{*} Ye were once in a ryght state, and agayne. *Recepistis spirituum ex operibus legis, an ex iusticia fidei*?[†] Once they had the spirit by faith, but false Prophetes came (when he was gone from them), and they plucked them cleane away from al that Paul had planted them in, and then saied Paul vnto them: *O stulti Galathi quis vos facinavit*?[‡] yf this be true, we may lose ye sp[i]ryte, yat we haue once possessed. It is a fond thyng, I wyll not tarry in it. But now to the passyon again. Christ had ben with hys father, and felt no healpe, he had bene with hys frendes, and had no comfort, he had prayed twyfe, and was not herd, what dyd he now? dyd he geue prayer ouer? no, he goeth agayne to hys father, and sayeth the same agayne, father if it be possyble awaye with this cup, here is an example for vs although we be not herd at the first time, shal we geue ouer our praier? nay we must to it agayne, we must be importune vpon god, we must be instant in prayer. He prayed thryfe and was not herd, let vs sinners praye

^{*} Ye did run well. Gal. v. 7. of faith?—Gal. iii. 2.
[†] Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing [‡] O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?—Gal. iii. 7.

thre score tymes, folkes are very dul now adaies in praier, to come to fermons, to reforte to common praier. You houfkeepers, and especially great men geue example of prayer in your houfes. Well dyd hys father looke vpon him thys fecond tyme? no, he went to hys frendes agayne thynkyng to finde some comtort ther, but he findes them a flepe, again more deper a flepe then euer they were. Their eyes were heauy with flepe Ther was no comfort at all, they wyft not what to fay to hym. A wonderfull thing, how he was toft from poft to piller, one whyle to hys father, and was deftytute at hys hand, anothe whyle, to hys frendes, and founde no comfort at them, hys father gaue him loking on, and suffred him to bite vpon the brydle a whyle. Almyghtye God behelde thys battayle that he myghte enioye that honoure and glory, that in hys name al knees shuld bow, *Cœlestium, Terrestrium, et infernorum.** in heauen, earth and hel. Thys that the father wolde not here hys owne sonne, was an other punyshement due to our synne. When we crye vnto hym, he wyll not here vs. The Prophet Ieremy fayeth. *Clamabunt ad me, et ego non exaudium eos.*† These be. Ieremyes wordes, here he threateneth to punyſhe syn wyth not hearyng theyr prayers. The prophet saythe. They haue not had the feare of God before theyr eyes, nor haue not regarded disciptyne and correction. I neuer sawe furely so lyttel disciptyne as is nowe a daies. Men wilbe maysters, they wyl be maysters, and no Disciples. Alas where is thys disciptyne nowe in England. The people regarde no disciptyne, they be without al order. Wher thei shuld geue place, they wyll not stur one inch, yea, wher magistrates shold determyne matters, they wyl breake into the place, before they come, and at theyr commynge not moue a whitte for them. Is this disciptyne? Is thys good order? Yf a man say any thyng vnto them, they

House keepers and great men must geue example of prayer.

God punyshes syn in not hearynge of our praiers.

* Of *things* in heaven, and *things* in earth, and *things* under the earth. —Phil. ii. 10.

† I will not hear *them* in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble.—Jer. xi. 14.

regarde it not. They that be called to aunswere will not aunswere direclye, but skoffe the matter out. Men the more thei knowe, the worffe they be, it is truely sayed.

Scientia inflat, * knoweledge maketh vs proude and causeth vs to forget all, and set a waye discipline. Suerlye, in Poperye they had a reuerence, but now we haue none at all, I neuer sawe the lyke. Thys fame lacke of the feare of God, and discipline in vs, was one of the causes that the father woulde not heare hys sonne. Thys payne suffered our sauoure Christ for vs, who neuer deserued it. Oh what it was, that he suffered in thys gardeyn, til Iudas came. The doloures, the terroures, the sorrowes that he suffered, be vnspeakeble, He suffered it, partelye, to make amendes for oure synnes, and partelye, to geue vs example, what wee shoulde do in lyke case.

What comes of thys gere in the ende? Wel, nowe he prayeth agayne, he resorteth to his father agayne. *Angore correptus, prolixius orabat.*† He was in forer paines, in more anguyshe, then euer he was, and therefore he prayeth longer, more ardentlye, more faruentelye, more vehementlye, then euer he did before.

Oh Lorde, what a wonderfull thyng is thys, thys horroure of death is worffe then death it felse, more vgfome, more bytter then anye bodylye death. He prayeth nowe the thyrde tyme. He dyd it so inflauntlye, so feruently, that it brought out a bloody sweate, and suche plentye that it dropped downe euen to the grounde. Ther issued out of hys precious bodye droppes of bloude. What a paine was he in, when these bloody droppes fell so abundantlye from hym. Yet for all that, how vnthankfull do we shewe ourefelues toward hym that dyed only for oure sakes, and for the remedy of oure synnes. Oh what blasphemye do we commit daye by daye, what litle regard haue we to his blessed passion thus to sweare by goddes

* Knowledge puffeth up.—1 Cor. viii. 1.

† And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly.—Luke xxii. 44.

bloude, by Christes passion. We haue nothyng in no pastime, but gods bloude, gods woundes. We continually blaspheme his passion in haukyng, hunting, dicing, and cardinge. Who would thynke he shoulde haue suche enemyes a monge those that professe hys name.

What became of hys blud that fell downe trowe ye? was the bloude of Hales of it (wo worthe it). What a do was it to bryng thys out of the kynges heade, thys greate abhominacion of the bloude of hales could not be taken a great whyle out of his mynde. You that be of the court, and especially ye sworne chapleynes be ware of a lesson that a greate man taught me at my fyrst comming to the courte he tolde me for good wyll, he thoughte it well. He saye vnto me. You must beware howe foeuer ye do that ye contrari not the Kyng, let hym haue hys sayinges, follow hym, go wyth hym. Mary out vpon thys counsayle, shall I saye, as he sayes. Saye youre conscience, or eles what a worme shal ye fele gnawynge, what a remorse of conscience shall ye haue, when ye remembre howe ye haue slacked your dutye. It is a good wyse verse. *Gutta cauat lapidem, non ui sed saepe cadendo.* The droppe of raine maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by ofte fallynge. Lykewyse a Prynce muste be turned not violentlye, but he must be wonne by a lytle and a lytle. He muste haue hys dutye tolde hym, but it muste be done wyth humblenes, wyth request of pardon, or els it were a daungerous thyng.

Vnpreacheyng Prelates haue bene the cause, that the bloud of Hales did so long blynd the Kyng. Wo worthe that suche an abhominable thyng, shuld be in a Christen realme, but thanks be to God it was partly redressed in the Kynges dayes that dead is, and much more nowe. God graunte good wil, and power to go forward, yf ther be anye suche abhominacion behinde, that it may vtterly be rooted vp.

O how happy are we, that it hath pleased almyghty God to vouche safe, that his sonne shuld sweate bloud

for the redeming of oure fynnes, and agayne howe vnhappye are we yf we wyll not take it thanckefullye, but that was redemed so paynfullye. Alas what harde heartes haue we. Oure Sauour Christ neuer fynned, and yet sweat he bloud for our fynnes, we wyll not once watter oure eyes wyth a fewe teares. What an horrible thing is finne? that no other thyng wold remedy and paye the ranfom for it, but only the bloud of our Sauoure Christe. There was nothinge to pacify the fathers wrath agaynst man, but suche an Agonye as he suffered. All the passyon of all the martyrs that euer were, al the sacryfices of Patryarkes that euer were, al the good workes that euer were done, were not able to remedy oure synne, to make satisfaccion for oure fynnes, nor anye thyng besydes; but thys extreme passion and blud sheddyng of our most merciful Sauoure Christ.

But to drawe towarde an ende, what became of thys thre fold prayer at ye length, it pleased God to here his sonnes prayer, and sent hym an angell to corroborate, to strengthen, to comforth hym.

Christ nede no angels helpe, if he had lysted to ease him selfe wyth hys deitye. He was the sonne of God, what then? for so much as he was man he receyued comforth at the Aungels hande, as it accordes to our infirmitie. Hys obedience, his contynuance, and sufferinge, so pleased the father of heauen, that for his sonnes sake, be he neuer so greate a synner, leauynge hys synne, and repentynge for the same, he wyll owe hym suche fauoure, as though he had neuer commyted anye synne.

The father of heauen wyll not suffer him to be tempted with thys greate horreur of deathe and hel to the vttermoste, and aboue that he is able to beare. Looke for it my frendes, by him and through him ye shalbe able to ouercome it, let vs do as our Sauoure Christe dyd, and we shal haue helpe from aboue, we shal haue aungels helpe, yf we trust in hym, heauen and earth shal geue vp, rather then we shal

lacke helpe, He saith he is. *Adiutor in necessitatibus*. * an helper in tyme of nede. When the aungell had comforted hym, and when thys horroure of deathe was gone, he was so strong, that he offered himselfe to Iudas, and sayed. I am he. To make an ende, I praye you take paines : it is a daye of penaunce (as we vse to sai) geue me leue to make you werye thys daye. The Iewes had hym to Cayphas and Annas, and there they whypt hym, and bet hym. they sette a crowne of sharpe thorne vpon hys head, and nayled hym to a tree, yet al thys was not so bytter, as thys horroure of death, and thys Agony, that he suffered in the gardayne, in suche a degree as is dewe to al the synnes of the worlde, and not to one mannes synne.

Well, thys passion is our remedye, it is the satisfactyon for oure synnes. Hys soule descended to hell for a tyme. Here is muche ado, these newe vpstartynge spirites, say Christ neuer descended into hel, neyther body nor soule. In scorne they wil aske, was he ther, what did he there? what if we cannot tell what he dyd there? The Crede goeth no further, but sayeth, he descended thither, what is that to vs if we cannot tell seyng we were taughte no further. Paulle was taken vp into the third heauen, aske lykewyse what he sawe when he was caried thither, you shall not fynde in scripture what he sawe or what he dyd there, shal we not therfore beleue that he was there.

These arrogant spirites, spirites of vayne glorie : because they knowe not by any expr[e]sse scripture, the order of his doynge in hell, they wil not beleue that euer he descended into hell. In dede thys article hathe not so full scripture, so many places and testimonyes of scriptures as other haue, yet it hathe ynough, it hath. ii. or. iii. textes, and if it had but one, one texte of scripture, is of as good and lawfull authoritye as a. M. [thoufand] and of as certayne truth. It is not to be wayed by the multitude of textes. I beleue as certaynely and verely that thys Realme of Englande hath as good authoritye to here Goddes word as any

* Grace to help in time of need.—Heb. iv. 16.

nation in al the worlde, it maye be gathered by. ii. textes, one of theym is thys.

*Ite in uniuersum mundum, et predicate euangelium omni creaturæ.**

Go into the whole world, and preache the Gospell to all creatures. And agayne. *deus uult omnes homines saluos fieri.*† God wyll haue al men to be saued, he exceptes not the Englishemen here, nor yet expressely nameth theym, and yet I am as sure, that thys Realme of Englande, by this gatherynge, is allowed to here Goddes word, as though Christe hadde sayed a thousande tymes, Go preache to Englishmen, I wyl that Englishemen be saued. Because thys article of hys descendyng into hell, cannot be gathered so directlye, no necessarye, so formallye they do vtterlye denye it. Thys article hath Scriptures two or three. Inoughe for quiet myndes, as for curiouse braynes nothyng can contente them.

This is the dyuels sterryng vp of fuche spirites of sedicion, is an euidente argumente, that the light is come forth, for his word is a brode, when the dyuel ruffheth, when he roreth, when he styrreth vp fuche busie spirites, to sclaunder it. My entent is not to entreate of thys matter at thys tyme. I trust the people wyll not be caryed awaye wyth these newe arrogant spirites. I dout not, but good preachers wyl labour agaynst them. But now I wyl saye a worde, and herein I protest fyrste of al, not arrogantly to determyne, and defyne it, I wyll contende wyth no man for it, I wyll not haue it be preiudice to any body, but I offer it vnto you to confydre and waye it.

There be some greate clarkes that take my parte, and I perceyue not what euill can come of it, in saying, yat our Sauour Christe dyd not onely, in soule descende into hell, but also that he suffered in hel fuche paynes as the damned spirites dyd suffer there. Suerli, I beleue verelie for my parte, that he suffered the paynes of hell proporcionably, as it correspondes

* Go ye into all the world, and † God our Saviour; who will haue preach the gospel to every creature. all men to be saved.—1 Tim. ii. 3, 4.
—Mark xvi. 15.

and aunsweres to the whole synne of the worlde. He would not suffer onelye bodelye in the gardayne and vpon the crosse, but also in hys foule, when it was from the bodye, whyche was a payne dewe for oure synne.

Some wrytte so, and I can beleue it that he suffered in the very place, I can not tell what it is, call it what ye wil, euen in the skaldinge house, in the vgfomnes of the place, in the presence of the place, suche payne as our capacitie cannot attayne vnto, it is some what declared vnto vs, when we vtter it by these effectes, by fyre, by gnashynge of teth, by the worme that gnaweth on the conscience. What so euer the payne is, it is a greate payne that he suffered for vs. I se no inconuenience to saye, that Christe suffered in foule in hell.

I singularly commende the exceedynge greate charitie of Christ that for our sakes wold suffer in hell in his foule. It serches oute the vnspeakable hatred that God hathe to synne. I perceyue not that it doth derogate any thing from ye dignitie of Christes death, as in ye gardayne, when he suffered, it derogates nothing from yat he suffred on the crosse. Scripture speaketh on this fassion. *qui credit in me, habet uitam aeternam.** He that beleueth in me, hath lyfe euerlastynge. Here he fettes furth fayth, as the cause of our iustificacion, in other places as high commendacion is geuen to workes, and yet are the worckes anye derogacion from that dignitie, fayth? No. And agayne scripture sayeth. *Traditus est propter peccata nostra et exuscitatus propter iustificationem etc.*†

It attributeth here oure iustification, to his refurection, and doeth thys derogate anye thyng from hys death? not a whit. It is whole Christ. What wyth his natiuitye, what with his circumcision, what wyth hys incarnation, and the whole proceffe of hys lyfe, wyth hys preachynge, what wyth hys ascendynge, descend-

* He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.—John vi. 47. offences, and was raised again for our justification.—Rom. iv. 25.

† Who was delivered for our

ynge, what wyth his death, it is all Christe that worketh oure saluacion.

He sitteth on the ryght hande of the father, and all for vs. All this is the worke of oure saluacion. I woulde be as loeth, to derogate any thing from Christes death as the best of you al. How vnestimably are we bound to hym? what thankes oughte we to geue hym for it? We muste haue thys continuallye in remembraunce. *propter te morti morti tradimur tota die.** For the, we are in diyngē continuallye.

The life of a Christen man is nothyngē but a readines to dye, and a remembraunce of death, If thys that I haue spoken of Christes sufferyngē in the gardayne, and in hell, derogate any thinge from Christes death and passion, awaye wyth it, beleue me not in this, if it do not, it commendes and fettes furth very wel vnto vs, the perfection of the satisfacion that Christ made for vs, and the woorke of a redemption, not onely before wytnes in thys worlde, but in hel in that vgfome place, wherto whether he suffered, or wrastrled with the spirites, or comforted Abraham, Ifaac, and Iacob. I wyl not desier to knowe, if ye lyke not that which I haue spoken of hys sufferyngē, let it go. I wyl not striue in it. I wil be preiudice to nobody, weye it as ye list. I do but offer it you to consider. It is like his soule did fomewhat, the thre dayes that hys body lay in the graue. To saye he suffered in hell for vs derogats nothing from his death, for al thinges that Christ did before his suffering on the crosse, and after do worke oure saluacion, if he had not bene incarnat, he had not dyed, he was beneficial to vs with al thinges he did. Christen people should haue his sufferinge for them in remembraunce, let your gardains monishe you, your pleasaunt gardaynes what Christ suffred for you in the Gardayne, and what commoditie you haue by hys sufferyngē.

It is hys wyl ye shoulde so do, he woulde be hadde in remembraunce. Myxt youre pleasurs with the remembraunce of his bitter passion. The whole passion

* For thy sake are we killed all the day long.—Psa. xlv. 22.

is satisfiacion for oure synnes, and not the bare death, confideryng it so nakedly by it selfe The maner of spekyng of scripture is to be confidered. It attributeth oure saluacion, nowe to one thynge, nowe to a nother that Christe dyd, where indede it pertayned to all. Oure Sauoure Christe hath leste behynd hym, a remembraunce of hys passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lordes supper, a lacke it hath bene longe abused, as the sacrifices were before, in the oulde law. The Patriarkes vsed sacrifice, in the fayeth of the seade of the woman, whyche shoulde breake the serpentes hed. The Patriarkes sacrificed on hope, and afterwarde the worcke was estemed.

There comes other after, and they confider not the fayth of Abraham, and the Patriarkes, but do theyr sacrifice accordyng to theyr owne imaginacion, euen so came it to passe wyth oure blessed communion.

In the primatyue church, in plages, when theyr fryendes were deade, they vsed to come together to the holy communion. What? to remedye them that were deade? No, not a strawe. It was not instituted for no fuche purpose.

But then they would call to remembraunce goddes goodnes, and his passion that he suffered for vs, wherein they comforted much theyr fayth. Other came after warde and fettes vp all these kyndes of maffynge, all these kyndes of iniquite. What an abhominacion is it? the foulest that euer was to attribute to mans worke oure saluacion. God be thanked that we haue thys blessed communion set forth so nowe, that we maye comfort, encrease, and fortify our fayth at that blessed celebration. Yf he be gyltye of the bodye of Christ, that takes it vn-worthely, he fetcheth greate comforte at it, that eate it worthely, He doothe eate it worthelye, that doeth it in fayeth. In fayeth? in what fayeth? Not long ago a great man, fayed in an audience, they bable much of faith, I wyll go lye wyth my whore al nyghte, and haue as good a fayth, as the best of them al. I thynke he neuer knewe other, but the whore mongers

fayth. It is no fuche fayth that wyll ferue. It is no brybynge Iudges, or iustices faith, no rentreasers fayeth, no hore mongers fayth, no lease mongers fayth, no feller of benefices faith, but the fayth in the passion of oure Sauioure Christ, we must beleue that our Sauioure Christ hath taken vs agayne to hys fa[u]oure, that he hath deliuered vs hys owne bodye and bloude to plead with the dyuel, and by merite of hys owne passion, of his owne mere liberalitie. This is the fayth I tel you, that we must come to the communion with, and not the horemongers faith? Loke where remission of sin is, ther is acknowledging of sin also. Fayth is a noble duches, she hath euer her gentleman vs her going before her, the confessing of sinnes, she hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commaundementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyll no[t] beidle, he wyl walke, he wil do his busines, haue euer the gentelman vs her with you. So if ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule, consider whether the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another fayth then thys, a whoremonkers fayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding house, and ther you shal haue two dishes, wepyng and gnashinge of teeth, muche good do it you, you se your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknowledge your synnes, you shall come to ye blessed communion of the bitter passion of

Christ, worthily, and

so attayne

to euer-

lastyng lyfe, to

the whiche the

father of hea-

uen bringe

you and

me

A. M. E. N.

J. I. H. I. S.

English Reprints.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Utopia.

Originally printed in Latin, 1516.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY
RALPH ROBINSON,

Sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

HIS SECOND AND REVISED EDITION, 1556: PRECEDED BY
THE TITLE AND EPISTLE OF HIS FIRST EDITION, 1551.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER,

Associate, King's College, London, F.R.G.S., &c.

LONDON:

5 QUEEN SQUARE, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

Ent. Stat. Hall.]

1 Dec. 1869.

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INTRODUCTION.



UTOPIA—probably written the second book at Antwerp about November 1515; and the first in London in the early part of 1516—was first published abroad. It was printed by Theodore Martin at Louvain, under the editorship of Erasmus, Ægidius, Paludanus and other of More's friends in Flanders, towards the end of 1516.

More then revised it, and, through Erasmus, it was sent to John Frobenius at Basle to print. This more sumptuous and, as regards authorship, second edition—probably containing the standard text—bears the date of November 1518. In the meantime however, a friend of Erasmus, the Englishman Thomas Lupset, brought out a reprint of the first edition at Paris, which was printed by Gilles de Gourmont before March 1518; and which is therefore in point of time, the second edition; the Basle one, being the third; and one at Vienna in 1519, the fourth in order of appearance. All four were in Latin, then the common familiar language of the learned.

By a strange fate, not a single copy of this work, in any language whatsoever, was printed in England in More's lifetime: or indeed prior to these English versions of Ralph Robinson. Yet—despite its original Latin garb—the work is essentially English, and will ever reckon among the treasures of our literature.

Without some acquaintance with Sir Thomas More's life, one might be apt to assume *Utopia* to be entirely his own work, and the persons named in it to be fictitious. He wrote the letter to Petrus Ægidius, and the two books of Raphael's communication. Erasmus' letter to Frobenius (not here translated) was printed by him in the Basle edition of 1518. The following also contributed to the earlier Latin editions.

PETRUS ÆGIDIUS, the PETER GILES of this translation, [b. 1490—d. 1555], secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. *Wrote a letter translated at pp. 163-166.*

JOHN CLEMENT [d. 1 July 1572] at the time More's attendant, afterwards Professor of Greek at Oxford. *See p. 23.*

JOHN PALUDANUS, *Cassilitensis* 'an ancient friend' of Erasmus, *p. 7*: contributed to the first edition, a letter and a poem *not translated by Robinson.*

JEROME BUSLEYDEN, latinized BUSLIDIUS [b. 1470—d. 27 Aug. 1517] a rich

generous *diplomate*. Founder of the College of the three languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew), at Louvain. He wrote a letter to More, *not translated by Robinson*.

GERARD BRONCHROST, of Nimeguen in Latin NOVIOMAGUS [b. 1494—d. 1570]. Sometime Mathematical Professor at Rostock, wrote a short poem, *see p. 167*.

CORNELIUS SCHRYVER, latinized GRAPHÆUS [b. 1482—d. 19 Dec. 1558] made in 1533 secretary to the municipality of Antwerp, also contributed a short poem, *see p. 167*.

WILLIAM BUDE, latinized BUDEUS or BUDÆUS [b. 1467—d. 23 Aug. 1540] the most learned Frenchman of his time. His letter to Lupset first appeared in the Paris edition of 1518, *not included by Robinson*.

THOMAS LUPSET [b. 1498—d. 27 Dec. 1532] while studying at Paris edits second edition of *Utopia*. Afterwards becomes Lecturer in Rhetoric at Oxford.

Utopia is worthy of multiformed study. Not only from its reflection of the character, principles, and merry wit of its author; from its proposed solutions of such social problems, as the scarcity or overplus of population, the prevention of famines, and the like: but also from its reference of the condition of the poor, especially the 'bondmen,' the then dying out 'villenage' of England; from its allusions to the late, as well as to the present English king; from its survey of Continental politics in 1516: and on other accounts.

The furthest discovery of Amerigo Vespucci in his fourth voyage, along the coast-line of Brazil, appears to have been Cape Frio. Sir Thomas More apparently refers to Deodati's collection, in speaking of 'those iii. voyages that be nowe in printe, and abrode in eury mannes handes;' which, in Latin, was first published in 1507, under the title of *Quattvor Americi Vespottii Navagationes*. Near the end of this tract is the following account of what occurred on 3 April, 1504.

Relictus igitur in castello præfato Christicolis. xxiiiij. et cum illis. xij. machinis ac alijs plurimus armis / vna cum prouisione pro sexse mensibus sufficiente / . . .

On this passage More hangs his whole fiction. This is the carefully concealed starting-point of the imaginary portion of his work. Thence the Portuguese Hythlodaye wanders to the island of 'Nowhere,' which to More's mind was 'beyond the line equinoctial' between Brazil and India. There for five years and more Hythlodaye studied the laws and habits of a community (allowing the very low average of 20 persons to each of the 6000 households of the 54 cities) of 6,500,000

persons; not including their countrey population or outlying 'forreyne towns.' At length, returning home from India in the Portuguesfe fleet, Hythlodaye is represented as introduced by Peter Ægidius to More in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral: whence all three adjourn to the garden in Sir Thomas' house, where, on a bench 'covered with torues' they, with John Clement, listen a whole day to the story of Hythlodaye: the contents of the first book being recounted before dinner: and those of the second between dinner and supper.

Hythlodaye may well say 'that this nation tooke their beginnunge of the Grekes, bicause their speche kepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the greke language in the names of their cityes, and of their magistrates: '* as, for example, the following:—

ENGLISH.	LATIN.	GREEK.
Utopia	Utopia [= Nusquama]	οὐ, no; τόπος, place.
Hythlodaye	Hythlodæus	{ πατρο- } ἕθλος [= nugæ] nonsense. { νυμικ } ἀχορος, joyless, wretched. { forms of } μάκαρ, blessed, happy. ἀμαυρός, shadowy, unknown. ἀνυδρος, waterless. φύλος αρχὴ, chief of the tribe.
Achoriens	Archorii	
Macariens	Macarensii	
Amaurot	Amaurotus	
Anyder	Anydrus	
Phylarch	Phylarchus	

There is an essential difference of purpose in the somewhat similar works of Plato and More. In the *Republic*, Plato, in the person of Socrates, endeavours 'thoroughly to investigate the real nature of justice and injustice,' by first investigating their character in cities, and afterwards by applying 'the same inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart of the greater as it exists in the form of the less.' † More, in the person of Hythlodaye, looking round the world, perceives nothing 'but a certain conspiracy of riche men procuringe their owne commodities vnder the name and title of the commen wealht.' ‡ Plato endeavours to attain to an exact idea of an abstract vertue: More seeks to devise a system in which the poor shall not perish for lack, nor the rich be idle through excuse of their riches: in which every one is equally of the commonwealth, and in which the commonwealth possess only a common wealth.

* p. 118. † *The Republic of Plato*. Ed. by J. L. DAVIES, M.A., and D. J. VAUGHAN, M.A. p. 52. 3rd Ed. 1866. ‡ p. 159

Circumstances
connected with the earlier issues
of
UTOPIA.

Referred to in *Letters & Papers Foreign & Domestic of the reign of Henry VIII.* Arranged and Catalogued by Rev. J. S. BREWER, M.A.
London, 1864.

1515. [Feb. ?] [London?] MORE to ERASMUS. *Letters, &c.* ii. 430.
More's embassy has been successful, but tedious; has been away more than six months. . . . Has formed a close intimacy with Pet. Giles [Ægidius] of Antwerp.
1516. Oct. 31. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 777.
The *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* is popular everywhere. Is glad that Peter [Ægidius] likes his *Nusquama* [Utopia]. Wishes to hear if Tunstal approves of it, and other judges.
1516. Nov. 12. Louvain. GERARDUS NOVIOMAGUS (of Nimeguen) to ERASMUS. ii. 793.
His friend Theodoricus [Martin] will undertake to print the *Utopia*. Paludanus will show him a cut of the island by a great painter, if Erasmus desire any alterations.
1516. Nov. 18. Brussels. ERASMUS to PETER ÆGIDIUS. ii. 796.
Utopia is in the printer's hands.
1516. [?] Mechlin. JEROME BUSLIDANUS to MORE. ii. 814.
In praise of his *Utopia*.
1516. [?] London. MORE to PETRUS ÆGIDIUS. ii. 896.
Letter. Translated by Robinson at pp. 21-26.
- [1516. Dec. ?] The Editio princeps appears. *Libellus vere avreus nec minus salutaris quam festivus, de optimo reip. statu. deque noua Insula Vtopia.* . . . It has no pagination. (1) First comes the picture-chart of the island above referred to; (2) Then the Utopian alphabet, in which A to L are represented by circles or curves; M by a triangle; and N to Y by rectangles or portions thereof: dashes being used in connection with these for further diversity. (3) Then we have Anemolius' Utopian Hekastichon, see p. 167; (4) Then Ægidius' letter to Busleyden, see pp. 163-166; (5) Then another letter to him, from John Paludanus, who also contributes a poem; neither of which were included in Robinson's translation; (6) Then a poem by Girardus Noviomagus, *De Utopia*, see p. 167; (7) Then the poem of Cornelius Graphæus, *Ad lectorem*, see p. 167; (8) Then Busleyden's letter to Thomas More, (not included in Robinson's translation); (9) Then More's letter to Ægidius, see pp. 21-26; (10) Then the Text, in two books.]
1517. [?] MORE to TUNSTALL. ii. 1541.
His last letters were the most delightful he ever received from him, as they spoke so highly of his Republica (*Utopia*). Trusts they were as sincere as candid. . . . Was afraid, among his many avocations, he would not have time for such trifles, nor could he have done so except out of partiality. Is glad he is pleased with the work, and not less for his candid advice.
1517. Jan. 13. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 891.
Begs Erasmus will thank Paludanus and Giles [Ægidius].
1517. Feb. 24. Antwerp. ERASMUS to WILLIAM COPE. ii. 953.
Begs him to send for More's *Utopia*, if he has not yet read it, and wishes to see the true source of all political evils. [This proves the publication of the first edition before this date.]

1517. Mar. 1. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 958.
Sends one letter to Marlianus, who imagined that the first book of *Utopia* was written by Erasmus. . . . As soon as More has corrected the *Utopia*, Erasmus will send the MS. to Basle or Paris.
1517. Mar. 8. Antwerp. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 963.
'Send the *Utopia* at your earliest opportunity.' A burgo-master at Antwerp is so pleased with it that he knows it all by heart.
1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 913.
Sent his *Utopia* some time since, and is delighted to hear it will come out in a magnificent form.
1517. July 31. Paris. GULIELMUS BUDÆUS to THOMAS LUPSET. ii. 1124.
Thanks him for a copy of More's *Utopia*. . . . Long commendation of the *Utopia*. [Printed in both editions of 1518.]
1517. Aug. 25. Louvain. ERASMUS to JOHN FROBENIUS. ii. 1147.
Sends . . . *Utopia* for Frobenius to print.
1517. [?] ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1090.
1517. Aug. 28. Antwerp. FRANCIS CHIEREGATO to ERASMUS. ii. 1151.
On his leaving England for Rome, to avoid the sweating sickness, touched at Antwerp and heard that Erasmus was staying with Petrus Ægidius, secretary to the municipality of Antwerp. On calling heard that Erasmus had started the day before for Louvain.
1517. [?] London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1155.
Is in the clouds with the dream of the government to be offered him by his Utopians; fancies himself a grand potentate, with a crown and a Franciscan cloak (*paludamentum*), followed by a grand procession of the Amauri. Should it please Heaven to exalt him to this high dignity, where he will be too high to think of common acquaintances, he will still keep a corner in his heart for Erasmus and Tunstall; and should they pay him a visit to Utopia, he will make all his subjects honor them as is befitting the friends of majesty. The morn has dawned and dispelled his dream, and stripped off his royalty, plunging him down into his old mill-round at the Court.
1517. Aug. 31. Louvain. ERASMUS to TUNSTAL. ii. 1154.
Has taken up his abode at Louvain, and is on good terms with the theologians. Is staying with Paludanus, his ancient friend, but wants to find more room for his books.
1517. Sept. 3. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1157.
Sends his *Utopia* (*Nusquamam nostram nusquam bene scriptam ad te mitto*).
1517. Sept. 15. Paris. THOMAS LUPSET to ERASMUS. ii. 1162.
Intends getting a new edition of More's *Utopia* printed.
1517. Dec. 15. London. MORE to ERASMUS. ii. 1201.
Expects his *Utopia*.
1518. Mar. 5. Louvain. ERASMUS to MORE. ii. 1238.
The printers at Basle excuse their delay in the *Utopia* by reason of the preface added by Budæus. [This is the *third* edition.] Has seen a French edition of the *Utopia*. [Lupset's edition, printed by Gilles de Gourmont at Paris, must therefore rank as the *second* in point of time, but is only a reprint of the Louvain edition of 1516.]
1518. Nov. [Date of the Basle edition, *third* in point of time, *second* as regards authorship. It omits Paludanus' letter and poem of the first edition, and has in addition the above mentioned letters from Erasmus to Frobenius, and from Budé to Lupset. This edition therefore embodying also More's corrections of the previous year, is at once the most complete and most correct published in his lifetime.]

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Utopia.

* Editions not seen.

For the earliest Latin editions, see pp. 6, 7. Space does not permit detailing other Latin, or the French, German, Italian, and Spanish editions that have appeared.

ENGLISH EDITIONS.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime.

None.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

RALPH ROBINSON'S TRANSLATION.

I. *As a separate publication.*

- 1 1551. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Earliest translation*: see title at p. 11.
- 2 1556. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *Second and revised translation*: see title at p. 17.
- 3 1597. London. A most pleasant fruitfull and wittie worke, . . . of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new Yle called Utopia. 1 vol. 4to. And now this third edition, newly corrected and amended.
- 4 1624. London. Sir T. More's Utopia . . . Now after many Impressions, 1 vol. 4to. newly corrected and purged of all errors hapned in the former edition. Printed by BER. ALSOP: who dedicates it to *Cresacre More*, of *More place* in *North Mimes* in the countie of *Hertford*, Esquire; next in *Bloud* to Sir *Thomas More*; . . .
- 5 1639. London. The Commonwealth of Utopia. . . . Another edition of 1 vol. 12mo. No. 4.
- 14 1808. London. Utopia . . . With copious Notes, and a Biographical and Literary Introduction. By the Rev. T. F. DIBDIN, F.S.A. 1 vol. 4to. A reprint of the text of 1639, No. 5, which is itself a reprint of Alsop's of 1624: collated with Edition of 1551, No. 1.
- 18 1 Mar. 1869. London. 1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints*: see title at p. 1.

BP. GILBERT BURNET'S TRANSLATION.

I. *As a separate publication.*

- 6 1684. London. Utopia . . . translated into English. 1 vol. 8vo.
- 7 1737. Dublin. Utopia. . . . To this edition is added, a short account of 1 vol. 12mo. Sir Thomas More's Life and his Trial.
- 8 1743. Glasgow. Utopia or the Happy Republic; a Philosophical Romance, 1 vol. 8vo. in two books.
- 9 1751. Oxford. Utopia Revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd 1 vol. 12mo. by THOMAS WILLIAMSON.
- 10 1753. Oxford. Utopia . . . The whole revis'd, corrected, and improv'd 1 vol. 12mo. by A GENTLEMAN OF OXFORD. A reprint of No. 9.
- 12 *1808. London. Utopia or the Best state of a Commonwealth, *Dibdin*, 1 vol. 8vo. *clxxix* of No. 14.
- 16 *1849. London. Utopia or the Happy Republic, *London Catalogue*. 1 vol. 12mo.
- 17 1850. London. *The Phoenix Library*, selected by JOHN MINTER MOR- 1 vol. 12mo. GAN. Utopia, or The Happy Republic.

II. *With other works.*

- 11 1758. London. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Thomas More . . . To which 1 vol. 8vo. is added, his History of Utopia, . . . with notes historical and explanatory by F. WARNER, LL.D.
- 15 1838. London. *The Masterpieces of Prose Literature*. Vol. iv. Utopia: 1 vol. 8vo. or the Happy Republic, with Lord Bacon's *New Atlantis*. With a preliminary discourse by J. A. ST. JOHN, Esqre.

ARTHUR CAYLEY'S (the younger) TRANSLATION.

II. *With other works.*

- 13 1808. London. Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new translation of 2 vols. 4to. his *Utopia*, his History of King Richard III., and his Latin Poems. *Utopia* occupies ii. 1-145.

The
LIFE and TRAVELS
of
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAYE.

* Probable or approximate dates.

Based chiefly—besides the present work—on *Amerigo Vespucci, Son caractère, ses écrits (même les moins authentiques), sa vie et ses navigations*; by F. A. DE VARNHAGEN, Brazilian Minister to Peru, Chile, and Écuador, &c. Lima, 1865, fol. See also *The Life and Voyages of Americus Vesputius*, by C. E. LESTER and A. FOSTER. New York, 1846, 8vo.

The same Raphael Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is very well lerned in the Latine tongue : but profounde and excellent in the Greke tongue. . . . His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugal borne). *p.* 29. As concerning my frendes and kynsfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towards them already. *p.* 33.

As concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinaunce of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I traualled abroade aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that comenly be called the Polylerites [Polyleritæ], *p.* 47.
1494. April. The King of Spain throws open the trade and navigation of the Indies to all ships taking their departure from Cadiz.

*1495.

‘There [*i.e.* in England] I taried for the space of. iiii. or .v monethes together, not longe after the insurrection, yat the Westernne Englishe men made agaynst their King.’ *p.* 36.

He stays with Cardinal Morton. At *pp.* 37–54, he gives an account of a table-talk, one day while he was in his house.

1497. May 10.

The Florentine Amerigo Vespucci [b. 9 Mar. 1451—d. 22 Feb. 1512], in the employ of the King of Spain, leaves Cadiz with 4 ships. This, his first voyage, was chiefly about the Gulf of Mexico. He returns to Cadiz 15 October 1498.

1498. Oct. 15.

Vespucci—again in the service of Spain—leaves Cadiz. This voyage, in part with Alonzo de Hojeda and Juan de la Cosa, brought him to the mainland of South America.

1499. May.

Hythlodaye, ‘for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the. iiii. last voyages of those. iiii. . . . he continued styl in his company.’ *p.* 29.

1500. Sept.

1501. May 14.

Vespucci—entering the service of the king of Portugal—leaves Lisbon on his *third* voyage ; in which he continues his discoveries along the coast of Brazil. He returns to Lisbon.

1502. Sept. 7.

1503. May

[June?] 10.

Vespucci—still in the service of the king of Portugal—commands a ship in a squadron of 6 ships, under Gongalo de Coelho. Hythlodaye says, “When I was determyned to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly.”—*See list at p.* 119.

‘Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick bookes.’ *p.* 119.

The squadron crossed the line, and on 10th Aug. saw distinctly on the horizon an island—which can be no other than Fernando de Noronha. The flag-ship, of 300 tons, was wrecked on a rock near the island, but happily the crew were

- saved. Vespucci, then 4 leagues from the island, was ordered to find in it a harbour. He missed the island and lost sight of the other ships. After 8 days, however, he saw a sail on the horizon, which on joining proved to be one of them. Both vessels then returned to the island, and found the other three ships gone; anchored, took in wood, &c., and then set out for the appointed *rendezvous* in case of separation; Bahia, discovered in the previous voyage. There they arrived in 18 days; and waited for 2 months and 14 days. At length tired of the delay, the two commanders determined to explore the coast ahead. Sailing southward, they at length stopped at a port, which, (according to Varnhagen), can be no other than Cape Frio. Here they found a quantity of dye-wood (brazil), with which they loaded their ships; during a stay of 5 months.
1503. Sept., Oct. Before returning, they left a little factory of 24 armed men in a fortress armed with 12 guns. Then setting out, in 77 days
1503. Nov. reached Lisbon on 18 June 1503; bring the earliest tidings of either themselves or their missing consorts; which on 4 Sept. 1504, Vespucci believed to be all lost. [*Condensed from Varnhagen, pp. 114, 115.*]
1504. Mar. Hythlodaye 'gotte the licence of mayster Americke (though it was sore agains this wyll) to be one of the. xxiii whiche in the ende of the laste voyage were left in the countrye of Gulike.'
1504. April 3. *p. 30.*
1504. June 18. After the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had traailed through and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikanes [*i.e.* of the above 24: one of these five was the above named Tricius Apinatus, *p. 119.*] *p. 30.*

*1505-1510.

Yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentlye sene their fashions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onely to make that newe lande knowen here. *p. 69.*

Amaurote . . . wherein I liued five whole yeares together. *p. 77.*

The ACHORIENS [Achorii], whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Iland of Utopia on the south easte side. *p. 57.*

The MACARIENS [Macarensii] whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia. *p. 62.*

'The ANEMOLIANS [Anemolii] . . . dwell farre thence, and had verie litle a[c]quaintance with' the Utopians. *p. 101.*

The battell whiche the Utopians fought for the NEPHELOGETES [Nephelegetæ] against the ALAOPOLITANES [Alaopolitæ] a little before oure time . . . The Nephelegetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. *pp. 132, 133.*

The ZAPOLETES [Zapoletæ]. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia eastwarde. *p. 136.*

Hythlodaye marries the aunt of Anemolius, the Poet Laureate of Utopia. *p. 167.*

But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left aliue, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, . . . at my departure. . . . *p. 144.*

At the last by merueylous chaunce he [Hythlodaye] arriued in Trapobane [Ceylon] from whence he went to Caliquit [Calicut], where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he returned agayne to his Countreye, nothing lesse then looked for. *p. 30.*

1515. *Nov.

Sir T. More meeting Hythlodaye in the doorway of Antwerp Cathedral, describes him as 'A man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner.' *p. 29.*

1516. Nov. 1.

'Very vncertain newes' (!) subsequently of Hythlodaye. *p. 165.*

A fruteful /

and pleasaunt worke of the
beste state of a publyque weale, and
of the newe yle called Utopia: written
in Latine by Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englyshe
by Raphe Robynson Citezein and
Goldsmythe of London, at the
procurement, and earnest re=
quest of George Tadlowe
Citezein and Haberdassher
of the same Citie.

(. .)

Imprinted at London

by Abraham Uele, dwelling in Pauls
churcheyarde at the sygne of
the Lambe. Anno,

1551.



To the right

honourable, and his verie singular good maister, maister William Cecylle esquiere, one of the twoo principall secretaries to the kyng his moste excellente maiestie, Raphe Robynson wissheth continuance of health, with dayly increas: of vertue, and honoure.



VPon a tyme, when tidynges came too the citie of Corinthe that kyng Philippe father to Alexander furnamed ye Great, was comming thetherwarde with an armie royall to lay siege to the citie: The Corinthians being forth with stryken with greate feare, beganne busilie, and earnestly to looke aboute them, and to falle to worke of all handes. Some to skowre and trymme vp harneis, some to carry stones, some to amende and buylde hygher the walles, some to rampiere and fortyfie the bulwarkes, and fortresses, some one thyng, and some an other for the defendinge, and strengthenyng of the citie. The whiche busie labour, and toyle of theirs when Diogenes the phylosopher sawe, hauing no profitable busines whereupon to sette himself on worke (neither any man required his labour, and helpe as expedient for the commen wealth in that necessitie) immediatly girded about him his phylosophicall cloke, and began to rolle, and tumble vp and downe hether and thether vpon the hille syde, that lieth adioyninge to the citie, his great barrel or tunne, wherein he dwelled: for other dwellyng place wold

he haue none. This feing one of his frendes, and not a litell musynge therat, came to hym: And I praye the Diogenes (quod he) whie doest thou thus, or what meanest thou hereby? Forsothe I am tumblyng my tubbe to (quod he) bycause it where no reaſon yat I only should be ydell, where so many be working. In femblable maner, right honorable sir, though I be, as I am in dede, of muche lesſe habilitie then Diogenes was to do any thinge, that shall or may be for the auauancement and commoditie of the publique wealth of my natiue countrey: yet I feing euery fort, and kynde of people in their vocation, and degree buſilie occupied about the common wealthes affaires: and especially learned men dayly putting forth in writinge newe inuentions, and deuises to the furtheraunce of the same: thought it my bounden ductie to God, and to my countrey so to tumble my tubbe, I meane so to occupie, and exerciſe meſelf in beſtowing ſuch ſpare houres, as I beinge at ye becke, and commaundement of others, cold conueniently winne to me ſelf: yat though no commoditie of that my labour, and trauaile to the publique weale should ariſe, yet it myght by this appeare, yat myne endeuoire, and good wille hereunto was not lacking. To the accompliſhement therfore, and fullylling of this my mynde, and purpose: I toke vpon me to tourne, and translate oute of Latine into oure Engliſhe tonge the fruteſull, and profitable boke, which sir Thomas more knight compiled, and made of the new yle Utopia, conteining and ſetting forth ye beſt ſtate, and fourme of a publique weale: A worke (as it appeareth) written almoſt fourtie yeres ago by the ſaid sir Thomas More ye authour therof. The whiche man, forasmuche as he was a man of late tyme, yea almoſt of thies our dayes: and for ye excellent qualities, wherewith the great goodnes of God had plentyfully endowed him, and for ye high place, and rowme, wherunto his prince had moſt graciously called him, notably wel knowen, not only among vs his countremen, but alſo in ſorrein countreis and nations: therfore I

haue not much to speake of him. This only I faye: yat it is much to be lamented of al, and not only of vs English mén, yat a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, and of so fine eloquence was yet neuerthelesse so much blinded, rather with obstinacie, then with ignoraunce yat he could not or rather would not see the shining light of godes holy truthe in certain principal pointes of Christian religion: but did rather cheuse to perseuer, and continue in his wilfull and stubbourne obstinacie euen to ye very death. This I faye is a thing much to be lamented. But letting this matter passe, I retourne again to Utopia. Which (as I said befor) is a work not only for ye matter yat it conteineth fruteful and profitable, but also for ye writers eloquent latine stiele pleasaunt and delectable. Which he yat readeth in latine, as ye authour himself wrote it, perfectly vnderstanding ye same: doubtles he shal take great pleasure, and delite both in ye sweete eloquence of ye writer, and also in ye wittie inuencion, and fine conueiaunce, or disposition of ye matter: but most of all in the good, and holfome lessons, which be there in great plenty, and aboundaunce. But nowe I feare greatly yat in this my simple translation through my rudenes and ignoraunce in our english tonge all the grace and pleasure of ye eloquence, wherwith ye matter in latine is finely set forth may seme to be vtterly excluded, and lost: and therefore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe muche peraduenture diminished, and appayred. For who knoweth not whiche knoweth any thyng, that an eloquent styele setteth forth and highly commendeth a meane matter? Where as on the other side rude, and vnlearned speche defaceth and disgraceth a very good matter. According as I harde ones a wise man faye: A good tale euell tolde were better vntold, and an euell tale well tolde nedeth none other sollicitour. This thing I well pondering and wayinge with me self, and also knowing, and knowledging the barbarous rudenes of my translation was fully determined neuer

to haue put it forth in printe, had it not bene for certain frendes of myne, and especially one, whom aboue al other I regarded, a man of sage, and discret witte and in wor[l]dly matters by long vse well experienced, whoes name is George Tadolwe: an honest citizein of London, and in the same citie well accepted, and of good reputation: at whoes request, and instaunce I first toke vpon my weake, and feble sholders ye heauie, and weightie bourdein of this great enterprice. This man with diuers other, but this man chiefly (for he was able to do more with me, then many other) after that I had ones rudely brought ye worke to an ende, ceassed not by al meanes possible continually to assault me, vntil he had at ye laste, what by ye force of his pitthie argumentes and strong reasons, and what by hys authority so perswaded me, that he caused me to agree and consente to the impryntyng herof. He therefore, as the chiefe perswadour, must take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin clerely acquytte, and dischargd of all blame. Yet, honorable Syr for the better auoyding of enuyous and malycyous tonges, I (knowynge you to be a man, not onlye profoundly learned, and well affected towards all suche, as eyther canne, or wyll take paynes in ye well bestowing of that poore talente, whyche GOD hath endued them wyth: but also for youre godlye dysposytyon, and vertuous qualytyes not vnworthelye nowe placed in aucthorytye, and called to honoure) am the bolder humblye to offer and dedycate vnto youre good maystershyppye thys my sypmple worke. Partly that vnder the fausse conducte of your protection it may the better be defended from the obloquie of them, which can say well by nothing, that pleaseth not their fond, and corrupt iudgementes, though it be els both frutesfull and godly: and partlye that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe, and reuiue (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) yat old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in

the time of our childhode, being then scolefellows together. Not doubting that you for your natiue goodnes, and gentelnes will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towardses you is not by reason of long tract of time, and separation of our bodies any thinge at all quayed and diminished, but rather (I affuer you) much augmented, and increased. This verely is ye chieffe cause, yat hath encouraged me to be so bolde with youre maisterhippe. Els truelye this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your great gentelnes to me, of my part vnderferued, both in the time of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountiffully shewed : neither yet fitte, and mete for the very basenes of it to be offered to one so worthy, as you be. But almighty god (who therfore euer be thanked) hath auauanced you to such fortune, and dignity, that you be of hability to accept thankfully aswell a mans good will as his gift. The same god graunte you and all yours long, and ioyfully
to contynue in all godiynes
and prosperytye.

(.:)

A frutefull

pleasaunt, and wittlie worke,
of the beste state of a publike
weale, and of the newe yle, called Uto=
pia: written in Latine, by the right wor=
thie and famous Syr Thomas More
knyght, and translated into Englishe by
Raphe Robynson, sometime fellowe
of Corpus Christi College in Ox=
ford, and nowe by him at this se=
conde edition newlie peru=
sed and corrected, and
also with diuers no=
tes in the margent
augmented.

Imprinted at London, by
Abraham Uele, dwellinge in
Pauls churchyarde, at the signe
of the Lambe.



The translator to the gentle reader.



Hou shalte vnderstande gentle reader that thoughte this worke of Utopia in English, come nowe the seconde tyme furth in Print, yet was it neuer my minde nor intente, that it shoulde euer haue bene Imprinted at all, as who for no such purpose toke vpon me at the firste the translation thereof: but did it onelye at the request of a frende, for his owne priuate vse, vpon hope that he wolde haue kept it secrete to hym self alone. Whom though I knew to be a man in dede, both very wittie, and also skilful, yet was I certen, that in the knowledge of the Latin tonge, he was not so well sene, as to be hable to iudge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation. Wherefore I wente the more sleightlye through with it, propoundynge to my selfe therein, rather to please my sayde friends iudgemente, then myne owne. To the meaneffe of whose learninge I thoughte it my part to submit, and attemper my stile. Lightlie therefore I ouer ran the whole worke, and in short tyme, with more hast, then good spede, I broughte it to an ende. But as the latin prouerbe sayeth: The hastye bitche bringeth furth blind whelpes. For when this my worke was finished, the rudenes therof shewed it to be done in poste haste. How be it, rude and base though it were, yet fortune so ruled the matter that to Imprintinge it came, and that partly against my wyll. Howebeit not beinge hable in this behalfe to resist the pitthie persuations of my frendes, and perceauing therefore none other remedy, but that furth it shoulde: I comforted myselfe for the tyme, only with this notable saying of Terence.

Ita vita est hominum, quasi quum ludas tesseriis.

Si illud, quod est maxumè opus iactu non cadit:

Illud, quod cecidit forte, id arte vt corrigas.

In which verses the Poete likeneth or compareth the life of man to a diceplaiyng or a game at the tables: Meanyng therein, if that chaunce rise not, whiche is

most for the plaiers aduantage, that then the chaunce, which fortune hathe sent, ought so connyngly to be played, as may be to the plaier least dammage. By the which worthy similitude surely the wittie Poete geueth vs to vnderstande, that though in any of our actes and doynge, (as it ofte chaunceth) we happen to faile and misse of our good pretended purpose, so that the successe and our intente proue thingesfarre odde: yet so we ought with wittie circumspection to handle the matter, that no euyll or incommoditie, as farre furth as may be, and as in vs lieth, do therof ensue. According to the whiche counsell, though I am in dede in comparison of an experthe gamester and a conning player, but a verye bungler, yet haue I in this by chaunce, that on my side vnwares hath fallen, so (I suppose) behaued myself, that, as doubtles it might haue bene of me much more conningly handled, had I forethought so much, or doubted any such sequele at the beginninge of my plaie: so I am suer it had bene much worse then it is, if I had not in the ende loked somewhat earnestlye to my game. For though this worke came not from me so fine, so perfecte, and so exact yat at first, as surely for my smale lerning, it should haue done, yf I had then ment the publishing therof in print: yet I trust I haue now in this seconde edition taken about it such paines, yat verye fewe great faultes and notable errours are in it to be founde. Now therefore, most gentle reader, the meaneffe of this simple translation, and the faultes that be therin (as I feare muche there be some) I doubt not, but thou wilt, in iust consideration of the premisses, gentlye and fauourablye winke at them. So do-
yng thou shalt minister vnto
me good cause to thinke
my labour and paynes
herein not altoge-
thers bestowed
in vaine.

VALE.

U Thomas More to Pe-
ter Giles, sendeth
greetinge.



Am almoſte aſhamed, righte welbeloued Peter Giles, to ſend vnto you this boke of ye Utopian commen wealth, welniegh after a yeres ſpace, whiche I am ſure you looked for within a moneth and a halfe.

And no marueil. For you knewe well ynough, that I was alreadye diſbourdened of all the labour and ſtudye belongyng to the inuention in this worke, and that I had no nede at al to trouble my braines about the diſpoſition, or conueiaunce of the matter: and therefore had herein nothing els to do, but only to rehearſe thoſe thinges, whiche you and I togethers hard maifter Raphael tel and declare. Wherefore there was no cauſe why I ſhuld ſtudy to ſetforth the matter with eloquence: for aſmuch as his talke could not be fine and eloquent, beyng firſte not ſtudied for, but ſuddein and vnpremeditate, and then, as you know, of a man better ſene in the Greke language, then in the latin tonge. And my writyng, the niegher it ſhould approche to his homely plaine, and ſimple ſpeche, ſomuche the niegher ſhuld it go to the trueth: which is the onelye marke, wherunto I do and ought to directe all my trauail and ſtudy herin. I graunte and confeſſe, frende Peter, myſelfe diſcharged of ſo muche labour, hauinge all theſe thinges ready done to my hande, that almooſte there was nothinge left for me to do. Elles either the inuention, or the diſpoſition of this matter myghte haue required of a witte neither baſe, neither at all vnlearned, both ſome time and leaſure, and alſo ſome ſtudie. But if it were requiſite, and neceſſarie, that the matter

Trueth loueth
ſimplicite and
playnes.

shoulde also haue bene wrytten eloquentlie, and not alone truelye : of a fueretie that thyng coulede I haue perfourmed by no tyme nor studeye. But now seyng all these cares, stayes, and lettes were taken awaye, wherin elles so muche laboure and studeye shoulde haue bene employed, and that there remayned no other thyng for me to do, but onelye to write playnelie the matter as I hard it spoken: that in deede was a thyng lighte and easye to be done. Howbeit to the dispatchyng of thys so lytle busynesse, my other cares and troubles did leaue almost lesse, then no leasure.

The authors
bussines and
lettes.

Whiles I doo dayelie bestowe my time aboute lawe matters : some to pleade, some to heare, some as an arbitratoure with myne awarde to determine, some as an vmpier or a Iudge, with my sentence finallye to discusse. Whiles I go one waye to see and visite my frende : an other waye about myne owne priuat affaires. Whiles I spende almost al the daye abroad amonges other, and the residue at home among mine owne ; I leaue to my self, I meane to my booke no time. For when I am come home, I muste comen with my wife, chatte with my children, and talke wyth my seruantes. All the whiche thinges I reckon and accompte amonge busynesse, forasmuche as they muste of necessitie be done : and done muste they nedes be, onelesse a man wyll be straunger in his owne house. And in any wyse a man muste so fashyon and order hys conditions, and so appoint and dispose him selfe, that he be merie, iocunde, and pleasaunt amonge them, whom eyther nature hath prouided, or chaunce hath made, or he hym selfe hath chosen to be the felowes, and companions of hys life : so that with to muche gentle behauioure and familiaritie, he do not marre them, and by to muche sufferaunce of his seruantes, make them his maysters. Emonge these thynges now rehearsed, stealeth awaye the daye, the moneth, the yeare. When do I write then? And all this while haue I spoken no worde of slepe, neyther yet of meate, which among a great number doth wast no lesse tyme,

then doeth slepe, wherein almoste halfe the life tyme of man crepeth awaye. I therefore do wynde ^{Meate and slepe} and get onely that tyme, whiche I steale from ^{great wasters} slepe and meate. ^{of time.} Whiche tyme because it is very litle, and yet somewhat it is, therefore haue I ones at the laste, though it be longe first, finished Utopia; and haue sent it to you, frende Peter, to reade and peruse: to the intente that yf anye thyng haue escaped me, you might put me in remembraunce of it. For though in this behalfe I do not greatlye mistruste my selfe (whiche woulde God I were somewhat in wit and learninge, as I am not all of the worste and dullest memorye) yet haue I not so great truste and confidence in it, that I thinke nothyng coulde fall out of my mynde. For Iohn Clement my boye, who ^{Iohn Clement.} as you know was there presente with vs, whome I suffier to be awaye frome no talke, wherein maye be anye profyte or goodnes (for oute of this yonge bladed and new shotte vp corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring vp both in Latin and Greke learninge, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne) he I saye hathe broughte me into a greate doubt. For wheras Hythlodaye (onelesse my memorye fayle me) sayde that the bridge of Amaurote, whyche goethe ouer the riuer of Anyder is fyue hundreth pafeis, that is to saye, halfe a myle in lengthe: my Iohn sayeth that two hundred of those pafeis muste be plucked away, for that the ryuer conteyneth there not aboute three hundreth pafeis in breadthe, I praye you hartelye call the matter to youre remembraunce. For yf you agree wyth hym, I also wyll saye as you saye, and confesse my selfe deceaued. But if you cannot remember the thing, then surelye I wyll write as I haue done, and as myne owne remembraunce serueth me. For as I wyll take good hede, that there be in my booke nothing false, so yf there be anye thyng doubtful, I wyll rather tell a lye, then make a lie: bycause I had rather be good, then ^{A diuersitie} ^{betwene ma-} ^{king a lye, and} ^{telling a lie.} wilie. Howebeit thys matter maye easelye be remedied.

yf you wyll 'ake the paynes to aske the question of Raphael him selfe by woorde of mouthe, if he be nowe with you, or elles by youre letters. Whiche you muste nedes do for an other doubt also, that hath chaunced, throughe whose faulte I cannot tel: whether through

In what parte of the worlde Utopia standeth it is vnknewen.

mine, or yours, or Raphaels. For neyther we remembred to enquire of him, nor he to tel vs in what part of the newe world Utopia is situate. The whiche thinge, I

had rather haue spent no small somme of money, then that it should thus haue escaped vs: aswell for that I am ashamed to be ignoraunt in what sea that ylande standeth, wherof I write so long a treatise, as also because there be with vs certen men, and especiallie

It is thoughte of some that here is vnfainedly ment the late famous vicare of Croydon in Surrey.

one vertuous and godly man, and a professour of diuinitie, who is excedyng desierous to go vnto Utopia: not for a vayne and curious desyre to see newes, but to the intente he maye further and increase oure religion, whiche is there alreadye luckelye begonne.

And that he maye the better accomplyshe and perfourme this hys good intente, he is mynded to procure that he maye be sente thether by the hieghe Byshoppe: yea, and that he himselfe may be made Bishoppe of Utopia, beyng nothyng scrupulous herein, that he muste obteyne this Byshopricke with suete. For he

A godly suete.

counteth that a godly suete, which procedeth not of the desire of honoure or lucre, but onelie of a godlie zeale. Wherefore I moste earnestly desire you, frende Peter, to talke with Hythlodaye, yf you can, face to face, or els to wryte youre letters to hym, and so to woorke in thys matter, that in this my booke there maye neyther anye thinge be founde, whyche is vnture, neyther anye thinge be lacking, whiche is true. And I thynke verelye it shalbe well done, that you shewe vnto him the book it selfe. For yf I haue myssed or fayled in anye poynte, or if anye faulte haue escaped me, no man can so well correcte and amende it, as he can: and yet that can he not do,

oneles he peruse, and reade ouer my booke written. Moreouer by this meanes shall you perceauē, whether he be well wyllynge and content, that I shoulde vnder- take to put this woorke in writyng. For if he be mynded to publyshe, and put forth his owne laboures, and trauayles himselfe, perchaunce he woulde be lothe, and so woulde I also, that in publishynge the Utopiane weale publyque, I shoulde preuent him, and take frome him the flower and grace of the noueltie of this his historie. Howbeit, to saye the verye trueth, I am not yet fullye determind with my selfe, whether I will put furth my booke or no. For the natures of men be so diuers, the phantasies of some so waywarde, their myndes so vnkynde, their iudgementes so corrupte, that they which leade a merie and a iocounde lyfe, folowynge theyr owne sensuall pleasures and carnall lustes, maye seme to be in a muche better state or case, then they that vexe and vnquiete them- selues with cares and studie for the puttinge forthe and publishynge of some thyng, that maye be either profite or pleasure to others: whiche others neuerthe- les will disdainfully, scornefully, and vnkindly accepte the same. The moost part of al be vnlearned. And a greate number hath learning in contempte. The rude and barbarous alloweth nothing, but that which is verie barbarous in dede. If it be one that hath a little smacke of learnynge, he reiecteth as homely geare and comen ware, whatsoeuer is not stuffed full of olde moughteaten termes, and that be worne out of vse. Some there be that haue pleasure onelye in olde rustie antiquities. And some onelie in their owne doynge. One is so fowre, so crabbed, and so vnpleasaunte, that he can away with no myrthe nor sporte. An other is so narrowe betwene ye sholders, that he can beare no iestes nor tauntes. Some felo poore soules be so asfearde that at euerye snappishe woorde their nose shall be bitten of, that they stande in no lesse drede of euerye quicke and sharpe woorde, than he that is bitten of a madde dogge feareth water. Some be so mutable and

The vnkynde
 iudgementes of
 men.

wauerynge, that euery houre they be in a newe mynde, sayinge one thinge fyttinge, and an other thynge standynge. An other forte fyttheth vpon their allebencheis, and there amonge their cuppes they geue iudgement of the wittes of writers, and with greate authoritie they condempne euen as pleaseth them, euerye writer accordynge to his writinge, in moſte ſpitefull maner mockynge, lowtynge, and flowtynge them ; beyng them ſelues in the meane ſeaſon fauffe, and as ſayeth the prouerbe, oute of all daunger of gonneshotte. For why, they be ſo ſmugge and ſmothe, that they haue not ſo much as one hearre of an honeſte man, wherby one may take holde of them. There be moreouer ſome ſo vnkynde and vngentle, that thoughe they take great pleaſure, and delectation in the worke, yet for all that, they can not fynde in their hertes to loue the Author therof, nor to aſorde him a good woorde : beyng much like vncourteous, vnthankfull, and chourliſh geſtes. Whiche when

A fitte Similitude.

they haue with good and daintie meates well fylled their bellyes, departe home, geuyng no thanks to the feaſte maker. Go your wayes now, and make a coſtlye feaſte at youre owne charges for geſtes ſo dayntie mouthed, ſo diuers in taſte, and beſides that of ſo vnkynde and vnthankiull natures. But neuertheles (frende Peter) doo, I pray you, with Hithlo-day, as I willed you before. And as for this matter I ſhall be at my libertie, aſterwardes to take newe aduiſement. Howbeit, ſeeyng I haue taken great paynes and laboure in writyng the matter, if it may ſtande with his mynde and pleaſure, I wyll as touchyng the edition or publiſhyng of the booke, followe the counſell and aduiſe of my frendes, and ſpeciallye yours. Thus fare you well right her-

tely beloued frende Peter, with

your gentle wife : and loue

me as you haue euer done,

for I loue you better

then euer I

dyd.

I The first

Booke of the communication of
Raphael Mythloday, concernyng
the best state of a comen welth.



He moſte victorious and triumphant Kyng of Englande Henrye the eyght of that name, in al roial vertues, a Prince moſt pereleſſe, hadde of late in controuerſie with Charles, the right highe and mightye Kyng of Caſtell, weighty matters, and of great importaunce. For the debatement and final determination wheroi, the kinges Maieſty ſent me Ambaſiadour into Flaunders, ioyned in Commiſſion with Cuthbert Tunſtall, a man doutleſſe out of compariſon, and whom the Kynges Maieſtie of late, to the great reioyfyng of all men, dyd preferre to the office of Maifter of the Rolles.

Cuthbert
Tunſtall.

But of this mannes prayſes I wyll ſaye nothyng, not bicauſe I doo feare that ſmall credence ſhalbe geuen to the teſtimonye that cometh out of a frendes mouthe: but bicauſe his vertue and lernyng be greater, and of more excellency, then that I am able to praiſe them: and alſo in all places ſo famous and ſo perfectly well knowne, that they neede not, nor oughte not of me to bee prayſed, vnleſſe I woulde ſeeme to ſhew, and ſet-furth the brightnes of the ſonne with a candell, as the Prouerbe ſaieth. There mette vs at Bruges (for thus it was before agreed) thei whom their Prince hadde for that matter appoynted Commiſſioners: excellent men

all. The chiefe and the head of theym was the Maregraue (as thei call him) of Bruges, a right honorable man: but the wifest and the best spoken of them was George Temfice, prouost of Caffelses, a man, not only by lernyng, but also by nature of singular eloquence, and in the lawes profoundly learned: but in reafonyng, and debatyng of matters what by his naturall witte, and what by daily exercife, furely he hadde few fellowes. After that we had once or twife mette, and vpon certayne poyntes or articles coulde not fully and throughly agree, they for a certayne fpace tooke their leaue of vs, and departed to Bruxelle, there to know their Princes pleasure. I in the meane time (for fo my busines laye) wente streighte thence to Antwerpe. Whiles I was there abidyng, often times amonge other, but whiche to me was more welcome then annye other, dyd visite me one Peter Giles, a Citifsen of Antwerpe, a man there in his countrey of honest reputation, and also preferred to high promotions, worthy truly of the hyghest. For it is hard to fay, whether the yong man be in learnyng, or in honestye more excellent. For he is bothe of wonderfull vertuous conditions, and also singularly wel learned, and towards all fortes of people excedyng gentyll: But towards his frendes fo kynde herted, fo louyng, fo faithfull, fo trustye, and of fo earnest affection, that it were verye harde in any place to fynde a man, that with him in all poyntes of frendshippe maye be compared. No man can be more lowlye or courteous. No man vseth lesse simulation or dissimulation, in no man is more prudent simplicitie. Besides this, he is in his talke and communication fo merye and pleasaunte, yea and that withoute harme, that throughe his gentyll intertaynement, and his sweete and delectable communication, in me was greatly abated, and diminished the feruente desyre, that I had to see my natie countrey, my wyfe and my chyl-dren, whom then I dyd muche longe and couete to see, because that at that time I had been more then. iiii. Monethes from them. Vpon a certayne daye when I

hadde herde the diuine seruice in our Ladies Church, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Church of buyldyng in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the seruice beyng doone, was readye to go home to my lodgyng, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkyng with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke sonneburned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast homly about his shoulders, whome, by his fauoure and apparell furthwith I iudged to bee a mariner. But the fayde Peter seyng me, came vnto me, and saluted me.

And as I was aboute to answere him: see you this man, fayth he (and therewith he poynted to the man, that I sawe hym talkyng with before) I was mynded, quod he, to bryng him strayght home to you.

He should haue ben very welcome to me, sayd I, for your sake.

Nay (quod he) for his owne sake, if you knewe him: for there is no man thys day liuyng, that can tell you of so manye straunge and vnknownen peoples, and Countreyes, as this man can. And I know wel that you be very desirous to heare of suche newes.

Then I coniectured not farre a misse (quod I) for euen at the first syght, I iudged him to be a mariner.

Naye (quod he) there ye were greatly deceyued: he hath failed in deede, not as the mariner Palinure, but as the experte and prudent prince Vlisses: Yea, rather as the auncient and sage Philosopher Plato. For this fame ^{Raphaell} Raphaell Hythlodaye (for this is his name) is ^{Hithlodaye} very well lerned in the Latine tongue: but profounde and excellent in the Greke language. Wherin he euer bestowed more studye then in the Latine, bycause he had geuen himselfe wholly to the study of Philosophy. Wherof he knew that ther is nothyng extante in Latine, that is to anye purpose, sauynge a fewe of Senecaes, and Ciceroes dooynges. His patrimonye that he was borne vnto, he lefte to his brethern (for he is a Portugall borne) and for the desire that he had to see, and knowe the farre Countreyes of the worlde, he ioyned

himselfe in company with Amerike Vespuce, and in the. iii. - last voyages of those. iiii. that be nowe in printe, and abrode in euery mannes handes, he continued styll in his company, sauyng that in the last voyage he came not home agayne with him. For he made fuche meanes and shift, what by intretaunce, and what by importune sute, that he gotte licence of mayster Americke (though it were fore against his wyll) to be one of the. xxiiii whiche in the ende of the last voyage were left in the countrey of Gulike. He was therefore leste behynde for hys mynde sake, as one that tooke more thoughte and care for trauailyng, then dyenge: hauyng customably in his mouth these saiynge. He that hathe no graue, is couered with the skye: and, the way to heauen out of all places is of like length and distaunce. Which fantasy of his. (if God had not ben his better frende) he had surely bought full deare. But after the departyng of Mayster Vespuce, when he had trauailed thorough and aboute many Countreyes with. v. of his companions Gulikianes, at the last by merueylous chaunce he arriued in Taprobane, from whence he went to Caliquit, where he chaunced to fynde certayne of hys Countreye shippes, wherein he retourned agayne into his Countreye, nothyng lesse then looked for.

All this when Peter hadde told me: I thanked him for his gentle kindnesse, that he had vouchsafed to bryng me to the speache of that man, whose communication: he thoughte shoulde be to me pleasaunte, and acceptable. And therewith I tourned me to Raphaell. And when wee hadde haylfed eche other: and had spoken these commune woordes, that bee customablye spoken at the first meting, and acquaintaunce of straungers, we went thence to my house, and there in my gardaine vpon a bench couered with greene torues, we satte downe talkyng together. There he tolde vs, how that after the departyng of Vespuce, he and his fellowes that taried behynde in Gulicke, began by litle and litle, throughe fayre and gentle speache, to wyne the loue and faouore of the people of that countreye, infomuche

that within shorte space, they dyd dwell amonges them, not only harmlesse, but also occupiying with them verye familiarly. He tolde vs also, that they were in high reputation and fauour with a certayne great man (whose name and Countreye is nowe quite out of my remembraunce) which of his mere liberalitie dyd beare the costes and charges of him and his fyue companions. And besides that gaue them a trustye guyde to conducte them in their iourney (which by water was in botes, and by land in wagons) and to brynge them to other Princes with verye frendlye commendations. Thus after manye dayes iourneys, he sayd, they founde townes, and Cities, and weale publiques, full of people, gouerned by good and holsome lawes. For vnder the line equinoctiall, and on bothe fydes of the same, as farre as the Sonne doth extende his course, lyeth (quod he) great, and wyde desertes and wildernesess, parched, burned, and dried vp with continuall and intollerable heate. All thynges bee hideous, terrible, lothesome, and vnpleasaunt to beholde: All thynges out of fasyon, and comelinesie, inhabited withe wylde Beastes, and Serpentes, or at the leaste wyfe, with people, that be no lesse iauage, wylde, and noysome, then the verye beastes them selues be. But a little farther beyonde that, all thynges beginne by litle and lytle to waxe pleafaunte. The ayre softe, temperate and, gentle. The grounde couered with grene grasse. Lesse wildnesse in the beastes. At the last shall ye come agayne to people, cities and townes wherein is continuall entercourse and occupiying of merchaundise and chaffare, not only among themselues, and with their Borderers, but also with Merchauntes of farre Countreyes, bothe by lande and water. There I had occasion (sayd he) to go to many countreyes on euery syde. For there was no shippe ready to any voyage or iourney, but I and my fellows were into it very gladly receyued. Shippes of
The shippes that thei founde first were straungefassions made playn, flatte, and broade in the botome, trough wise. The sayles were made of great ruffhes, or of

wickers, and in some places of lether. Afterwarde thei founde shippes with ridged kyeles: and fayles of canuasse, yea, and shortly after hauyng all thynges lyke oures. The shipmen also very experte and cunnynge, bothe in the sea, and in the wether. But he saide, that he founde great fauoure and frendship amonge them, for teachyng them the feate and the vse
The lode stone. of the lode stone. Whiche to them before that time was vnknowne. And therefore they were wonte to be verye timerous and fearfull vpon the sea: Nor to venter vpon it, but only in the fomer time. But nowe they haue suche a confidence in that stone, that they feare not stormy winter: in so dooyng farther from care then daunger, In so muche, that it is greatly to be doubted, lest that thyng, throughe their owne folish hardinesse, shall tourne them to euyll and harme, which at the first was supposed shoulde be to them good and commodious.

But what he tolde vs that he sawe in euerye countreye where he came, it were very longe to declare. Neither it is my purpose at this time to make reherfall therof. But peradventure in an other place I wyll speake of it, chiefly suche thynges as shall be profitable too bee knowen, as in speciall be those decrees and ordinaunces, that he marked to be well and wittely prouided and enacted amonge suche peoples, as do liue together in a ciuile policye, and good ordre. For of suche thynges dyd wee buselye enquire, and demaunde of him, and he likewise very willingly tolde vs of the same. But as for monsters, bycause they be no newes, of them we were nothyng inquisitiue. For nothyng is more easye to bee founde. then bee barkynge Scyllaes, rauenyng Celenes, and Lestrigones deuourers of people, and suche lyke great, and incredible monsters. But to fynde Citifens ruled by good and holsome lawes, that is an exceding rare, and harde thyng. But as he marked many fonde, and folisse lawes in those newe founde landes, so he reherfed diuers actes, and constitutions, whereby these oure Cities, Nations, Countreis,

and Kyngdomes may take example to amende their faultes, enormities and errours. Wherof in another place (as I sayde) I wyll intreate.

Now at this time I am determined to reherse onely that he tolde vs of the maners, customes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the Utopians. But first I wyll repete oure former communication by th[e] occasion, and (as I might saye) the drifte wherof, he was brought into the mention of that weale publike.

For, when Raphael had very prudentlye touched diuers thynges, that be amisse, some here, and some there, yea, very many on bothe partes, and againe had spoken of suche wise lawes, and prudente decrees, as be established, and vsed, bothe here amonge vs, and also there amonge theym, as a man so perfecte, and experte in the lawes, and customes of euery feuerall Countrey, as though into what place soeuer he came geastwise, there he had ledde al his life: then Peter muche meruailynge at the man: Surely maister Raphael (quod he) I wondre greatly, why you gette you not into some kinges courte. For I am sure, there is no Prince liuyng, that wold not be very glad of you, as a man not only hable high'y to delite him with your profounde learnyng, and this your knowlege of countreis, and peoples, but also mete to instructe him with examples, and helpe him with counsell. And thus doyng, you shall bryng your selfe in a verye good case, and also be of habilitie to helpe all your frendes and kinssfolke.

As concernyng my frendes and kynssfolke (quod he) I passe not greatly for them. For I thinke I haue sufficiently doone my parte towardses them already. For these thynges, that other men doo not departe from, vntyl they be olde and fycke, yea, whiche they be then verye lothe to leaue, when they canne no longer keepe, those verye same thynges dyd I beyng not only lustye, and in good helth, but also in the floure of my youth, diuide among my frendes and kynssfolkes. Which I thynke with this my liberalitie ought to holde them contented, and not to require nor to loke that besydes this, I shoulde

for their sakes geue myfelfe in bondage vnto Kinges.

Nay, God forbyd that (quod Peter) it is notte my mynde that you shoulde be in bondage to Kynges, but as a retainour to them at your pleasure. Whiche surely I thinke is the nighest waye that you can deuise howe to bestowe your time frutefully, not onlye for the priuate commoditie of your frendes, and for the generall profite of all sortes of people, but also for th[e] aduaancement of your self to a much welthier state, and condition, then you be nowe in.

To a welthier condition (quod Raphael) by that meanes, that my mynde standeth cleane agaynst? Now I lyue at libertie after myne owne mynde and pleasure, whiche I thynke verry fewe of these great states, and pieres of realmes can saye. Yea, and there be ynow of them that sue for great mens frendshippes: and therefore thinke it no great hurte, if they haue not me, nor.iii. or.iiii. suche other as I am.

Well, I perceiue playnly frende Raphael (quod I) that you be desirous neither of richeffe, nor of power. And truly I haue in no lesse reuerence and estimation a man of your mynde, then anye of them all that bee so high in power and authoritie. But you shall doo as it becometh you: yea, and accordyng to this wisdome, to this high and free courage of yours, if you can finde in your herte so to appoynt and dispose your selfe, that you mai applye your witte and diligence to the profite of the weale publique, thoughe it be somewhat to youre owne payne and hyndraunce. And this shall you neuer so wel doe, nor wyth so greate proffitte perfourme, as yf you be of some greate princes counsel, and put into his heade (as I doubt not but you wyl) honeste opinions, and vertuous perswasions. For from the prince, as from a perpetual wel sprynge, commethe amonge the people the floode of al that is good or euell. But in you is so perfitte lernynge, that wythoute anye experience, and agayne so greate experience, that wythoute anye lernynge you maye well be anye kinges counsellour.

You be twyfe deceaued maister More (quod he) fyrste in me, and agayne in the thinge it selfe. For neither is it

methchabilitye that you force vpon me, and yf it wer neuer so much, yet in disquieting myne owne quietnes I should nothing further the weale publique. For first of all, the mosse parte of all princes haue more delyte in warlike matters, and feates of chiuallrie (ye knowlege wherof I neither haue nor desire) than in the good feates of peace: and employe muche more study, how by right or by wrong to enlarge their dominions, than howe wel, and peaceable to rule, and gouerne that they haue alredie. Moreouer, they that be counsellours to kinges, euery one of them eyther is of him selfe so wise in dede, that he nedeth not, or elles he thinketh himself so wise, yat he wil not allowe an other mans counsel, fauing that they do shamefully, and flatteringly geue assent to the fond and folishe sayings of certeyn great men. Whose fauours, bicause they be in high authoritie with their prince, by assentation and flatterie they labour to obteyne. And verily it is naturally geuen to all men to esteeme their owne inuentions best. So both the Rauen and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest. Than if a man in such a company, where some disdayne and haue despite at other mens inuentions, and some counte their owne best, if among suche menne (I say) a man should bringe furth any thinge, that he hath redde done in tymes paste, or that he hath sene done in other places: there the hearers, fare as though the whole existimation of their wisdome were in ieoperdye to be ouerthrowen, and that euer after thei shoulde be counted for verye disorderdes, vnles they could in other mens inuentions pycke out matter to reprehend, and find fault at.

If all other poore helpes fayle: then this is Triptakers.
 their extreame refuge. These thinges (say they) pleased our forefathers and auncestours: wolde God we coulde be so wise as thei were: and as though thei had wittely concluded the matter, and with this answere stopped euery mans mouth, thei sitte downe againe. As who should sai, it were a very daungerous matter, if a man in any pointe should be founde wiser, then his forefathers were. And yet bee we content to suffre the

best and wittiest of their decrees to lye vnexecuted: but if in any thing a better ordre might haue ben taken, then by them was, there we take fast hold, findyng therein many faultes. Many tymes haue I chaunced vpon such proude, leude, ouerthwarte, and waywarde iudgementes, yea, and once in England:

Parcial iudgements.

I prai you Syr (quod I) haue you ben in our countrey?

Yea forsoth (quod he) and there I taried for the space of. iiii. or. v. monethes together, not longe after the infurrection, yat the Westerne English men made agaynst their Kyng, which by their owne miserable and pitiful slaughte was suppressed and ended. In the meane season I was muche bounde and beholdyng to the righte reuerende father, Ihon Morton, Cardinall Archebishop and Cardinal of Canterbury, and at that time also lorde Chauncelloure of Englande: a man Mayster Peter (for Mayster More knoweth already that I wyll faye) not more honorable for his authoritie, then for his prudence and vertue. He was of a meane stature, and though stricken in age, yet bare he his bodye vpright. In his face did shine such an amiable reuerence, as was pleasaunte to beholde, Gentill in communication, yet earnest, and sage. He had great delite manye times with roughe speache to his sewters, to proue, but withoute harme, what prompte witte, and what bolde spirite were in euery man. In the which as in a vertue much agreinge with his nature, so that therewith were not ioyned impudency, he toke greate delectatyon. And the same person, as apte and mete to haue an administratyon in the weale publike, he dyd louingly embrace. In his speche he was fyne, eloquent, and pytthye. In the lawe he had profounde knowledge, in witte he was incomparable, and in memory wonderful excellent. These qualities, which in hym were by nature singular, he by learnynge and vse had made perfecte. The Kyng put muche truste in his counsel, the weale publyque also in a maner leaned vnto hym, when I was there. For euen in the chiefe of his youth he was taken from schole into the Courte, and there passed

all his tyme in much trouble and busines, beyng continually tumbled and tossed in the waues of dyuers misfortunes and aduersities. And so by many and greate daungers he lerned the experience of the worlde, whiche so beinge learned can not easely be forgotten. It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I fate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnynge in the lawes of youre Realme. Who, I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that strayte and rygorous iustice, which at that tyme was there executed vpon fellones, who as he sayde, were for the most parte. xx. hanged together vpon one gallowes. And, feyng so fewe escaped punyshment, he sayde he coulde not chuse, but greatly wonder and maruel, howe and by what euil lucke it shold so come to passe, that theues neuertheles were in euery place so ryffe and so rancke. Naye Syr quod I (for I durst boldely speake my minde before the Cardinal) maruel nothinge here at: for this punyshment of theues Of lawes not made according to equitie. passeth the limites of Iustice, and is also very hurtfull to the weale publique. For it is to extreame and cruel a punishment for thefte, and yet not sufficient to refrayne and withhold men from thefte. For simple thefte is not so great an offense, that it owght to be punished with death. Neither ther is any punishment so horrible, that it can kepe them from stealyng, which haue no other craft, wherby to get their liuing. Therefore in this poynte, not you onlye, but also the most part of the world, be like euyll scholemaisters, which be readyer to beate, then to teache, their scholers. For great and horrible punishments be appointed for theues. By what meanes ther might be fewer theues and robbers. whereas much rather prouision should haue ben made, that there were some meanes, whereby they myght get their liuyng, so that no man shoulde be dryuen to this extreme necessitie. firste to steale, and then to dye. Yes (quod he) this matter is wel ynough prouided for already. There be handy craftes, there is husbandrye to gette their liuyng by, if they would not willingly be nought.

Nay, quod I, you shall not skape so: for first of all, I wyll speake nothyng of them, that come home oute of the warres, maymed and lame, as not longe ago, oute of Blacke heath fielde, and a litell before that, out of the warres in Fraunce: suche, I faye, as put their liues in ieoperdye for the weale publiques or the kynges fake, and by reason of weakenesse and lamenessse be not hable to occupye their olde craftes, and be to aged to lerne new: of them I wyll speake nothing, forasmuch as warres haue their ordinarie recourse. But let vs con-

Idlennesse the
mother of
theues.

sidre those thinges that chaunce daily before our eyes. First there is a great numbere of gentlemen, which can not be content to

liue idle themselves, lyke dorres, of yat whiche other haue laboured for: their tenauntes I meane, whom they polle

Landlordes by
the way check-
ed for Rent-
raisynge.

and shauie to the quicke, by reisyng their rentes (for this onlye poynte of frugalitie do they vse, men els through their lauasse and prodigall spendynge, hable to bryng

theymselfes to verye beggerye) these gentlemen, I say, do not only liue in idlennesse themselves, but also carrye about

Of Idle seru-
yng men come
theues.

with them at their tailles a great flocke or traine of idle and loyteryng seruynge men, which neuer learned any craft wherby to

gette their liuynges. These men as sone as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselves, be incontinent thrust out of dores. For gentlemen hadde rather keepe

idle perfones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to mainteine so great a house, and kepe so many seruing men as his father dyd. Then

in the meane season they that be thus destitute of seruice, either starue for hunger, or manfullye playe the theues.

For what would you haue them to do? When they haue wandred abrode so longe, vntyl they haue worne threde bare their apparell, and also appaired their helth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickely faces, and patched cotes, wil not take them into seruice. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: Knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and

faythful seruice to a poore man wyth a spade and a
 mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beyng
 deyntely and tenderly pampered vp in ydilnes and plea-
 sure, was wont with a sworde and a buckler by hys fyde
 to iette through the strete with a bragginge loke, and
 to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate.
 Naye by faynt Mary sir (quod the lawier) not so. For
 this kinde of men muste we make mooste of. For in them
 as men of stowter stomackes, bolder spirites, and man-
 lyer courages then handycraftes men and plowemen be,
 doth consiste the whole powre, strength, and puiffaunce
 of oure army, when we muste fight in battayle. Forsothe
 sir aswell you myghte saye (quod I) yat for warres sake
 you muste cheryshe theues. For fuerly you shall neuer
 lacke theucs, whyles you haue them. No nor theucs
 be not the moste false and faynt harted sol-
 diers, nor souldiours be not the cowardleste Betwene sol-
diers and theucs
small diversitie.
 theues: so wel thees. ii. craftes agree toge-
 ther. But this faulte, though it be much vsed amonge
 you, yet is it not peculiar to you only, but comen also
 almoste to all nations. Yet Fraunce besides this is
 troubled and infected with a much forer plage. The
 whole royalme is fylled and besieged with hiered souldiours
 in peace tyme (yf that bee peace) whyche be
 brought in vnder the same colour and pretense, that
 hath perswaded you to kepe these ydell seruyng men.
 For thies wysefooles and verye archedoltes thought the
 wealth of the whole countrey herin to consist, if there
 were euer in a redinesse a stronge and sure garrison,
 specially of old practised souldiours, for they put no trust
 at all in men vnexercised. And therefore they must be
 forced to seke for warre, to the ende thei may euer haue
 practised souldiours, and cunnynge mansleiers, lest that
 (as it is pretely sayde of Salust) their handes and their
 mindes through idlenes or lacke of exercise, should
 waxe dul. But howe pernicious and pestilene a thyng
 it is to maintayne suche beastes, the Frenche men,
 by their owne harmes haue learned, and the examples
 of the Romaynes, Carthaginiens, Syriens, and of man-

ye other countreyes doo manifestly declare. For not
 onely the Empire, but also the fieldes and
 Cities of all these, by diuers occasions haue
 been ouerrunnd and destroyed of their
 ownearmies before hande had in a redinesse.
 Now how vnneccessary a thinge this is,
 hereby it maye appeare: that the Frenche fouldiours,
 which from their youth haue ben practised and inured
 in feates of armes, do not cracke nor aduaunce them-
 selves to haue very often gotte the vpper hand and
 maistry of your new made and vnpractised fouldiours.
 But in this poynte I wyll not vse many woordes, lest
 perchance I maye seeme to flatter you. No nor those
 same handy crafte men of yours in Cities, nor yet the
 rude and vplandish plowmen of the countreye, are not
 supposed to be greatly affrayde of your gentlemens idle
 feruyngmen, vnlesse it be suche as be not of body or
 stature correspondent to their strength and courage,
 or els whose bolde stomakes be discouraged through
 pouertie. Thus you may see, that it is not to be feared
 lest they shoulde be effeminated, if thei were brought
 vp in good craftes and laboursome woorkes, whereby
 to gette their liuynges, whose stoute and sturdye bodies
 (for gentlemen vouchsafe to corrupte and spill none
 but picked and chosen men) now either by reason of
 rest and idlenesse be brought to weakenesse: or els by
 easy and womanly exercises be made feble, and vn-
 able to endure hardnesse. Truly howe so euer the
 case standeth, thys me thinketh is nothing auayeable
 to the weale publique, for warre sake, which you neuer
 haue, but when you wyl your selves, to keepe and main-
 teyn an vnumerable flocke of that sort of men, that
 be so troublesome and noyous in peace. Wherof you
 ought to haue a thousand times more regarde, then of
 warre. But yet this is not only the necessary cause of
 stealing. There is an other, whych, as I suppose, is
 p[ro]per and peculiar to you Englishmen alone. What is
 that, quod the Cardinal? forsoth my lorde (quod I)
 your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and

What incon-
 ueniences com-
 eth by con-
 tinuall gari-
 sons of soul-
 diours.

so smal eaters, now, as I heare faye, be become so great deuowerers and so wylde, that they eate vp, and swallow downe the very men them selves. They consume, destroye, and deuoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For looke in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therefore dearest woll, there noble men, and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selves with the yearely reuenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to theyr forefathers and predeceffours of their landes, nor beyng content that they liue in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leaue no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw doune howses: they plucke downe townes, and leaue nothing standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepewyse. And as thoughe you losse no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chafes, laundes, and parkes, those good holy men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into defolation and wildernes. Therefore that on couetous and vnstiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyue contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els either by coueyne and fraude, or by violent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and iniuries thei be so wried, that they be compelled to sell all: by one meanes therfore or by other, either by hooke or crooke they muste needes departe awaye, poore, felye, wretched soules, men, women, husbands, wiues, fatherlesse children, widowes, wofull mothers, with their yonge babes, and their whole houshold smal in substance, and muche in numbere, as husbandrye requireth manye handes. Awaye thei trudge, I say, out of their knowen and accustomed howses, fyndynge no place to reste in. All their housholdestuffe, whiche is verye litle woorth, thoughe it myght well abide the sale: yet beeyng sodainely thruste oute, they be con-

English shepe
deuourers of
men.

Shepe mai-
sters decayers
of husbandrye.

The decaye of husbandry causeth beggery, which is the mother of vagaboundes and theues.

strayned to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they haue wandered abroad tyll that be spent, what can they then els doo but steale, and then iustly pardy be hanged, or els go about a beggyng. And yet then also they be caste in prison as vagaboundes, because they go aboute and worke not: whom no man wyl set a worke, though thei neuer so willyngly profre themselves therto. For one Shepheard or Heardman is ynoughe to eate vp that grounde with cattel, to the occupiying wherof aboute husbandrye manye handes were requisite. And this is also the cause why victualles be now in many places dearer. Yea, besides this the price of wolle is so ryfen, that poore folkes, which were wont to worke it, and make cloth therof, be nowe hable to bye none at all. And by thys meanes verye manye be forced to forsake worke, and to geue themselves to idelnesse. For after that so much grounde was inclosed for pasture, an infinite multitude of shepe dyed of the rotte, suche vengeance God toke of their inordinate and vnfacible couetousnes, sendinge amonge the shepe that pestiferous morrein, whiche much more iustly shoulde haue fallen on the shepemaisters owne heades. And though the number of shepe increase neuer so faste, yet the price falleth not one myte, because there be so fewe sellers. For they be almooste all comen into a fewe riche mennes handes, whome no neade forceth to sell before they lust, and they luste not before they maye sell as deare as they luste. Now the same cause bringeth in like dearth of the other kindes of cattell, yea and that so much ye more, bicause that after fermes plucked downe, and husbandry decayed, there is no man that passeth for the breadynge of younge floore. For these riche men brynge not vp the yonge ones of greate cattel as they do lambes. But first they bie them abroad verie chepe, and afterward when they be fatted in their pas-

The cause of dearth of victuales.

What inconuenience commeth of dearth of wolle.

The cause of dearth of wol.

Dearth of cattel with the cause therof.

tures, they sell them agayne excedynge deare. And therefore (as I suppose) the whole incommoditie hereof is not yet felte. For yet they make dearth onely in those places, where they sell. But when they shall fetch them away from thence wheare they be bredde faster then they can be broughte vp: then shall there also be felte greate dearth, floore beginning there to faile, where the ware is boughte. Thus the vnreasonable couetousnes of a few hath turned yat thing to the vtter vndoing of your ylande, in the whiche thyng the cheife felicitie of your realme did consist. For this greate dearth of victualles causeth men to kepe as litle houses, and as smale hospitalitie as they possible maye, and to put away their seruantes: whether, I pray you, but a beggyng: or elles (whyche these gentell bloudes, and stoute stomackes, wyll sooner set their myndes vnto) a stealing? Nowe to amende the matter, to this wretched beggerie, and miserable pouertie is ioyned greate wantonnes, importunate superfluitie, and excessiue riote. For not only gentle mennes seruantes, but also handicrafe men: yea and almooste the ploughmen of the cuntry, with al other fortes of people, vse muche straunge and proude newefanglenes in their apparell, and to muche prodigall riotte, and sumptuous fare at their table. Nowe bawdes, queines, whoores, harlottes, strumpettes, brothelhouses, stewes, and yet an other stewes wynetauernes, ale houses, and tiplinge houses, with so manye noughtie, lewde, and vnlawfull games, as dyce, cardes, tables, tennis, boules, coytes, do not all these sende the haunters of them streyghte a stealyng when their money is gone? Caste oute these pernicious abominations, make a lawe, that they, whiche plucked downe fermes, and townes of husbandrie, shal reedifie them, or els yelde, and vprender the possession therof to suche, as wil go to the cost of buylding them anewe. Suffer not these riche men

Dearth of victuales is the decay of house keeping; whereof ensueth beggery and thefte.

Excesse in apparell and diet a mainteiner of beggery and thefte.

Bawdes, whores, wynetauernes, alehouses, and vnlawfull games be very mothers of theues.

to bie vp al, to ingrosse, and forstalle, and with their monopolie to kepe the market alone as please them. Rich men in-grossers and forestallers. Let not so many be brought vp in idelnes, let husbandry and tillage be restored, let clothe-working be renewed, that ther may be honest labours for this idell fort to passe their tyme in profitablye, whiche hitherto either pouertie hath caused to be theues, or elles nowe be either vagabondes, or idel seruing men, and shortelye wil be theues. Doubtles onles you finde a remedy for these enormities, you shall in vaine aduance your felues of executing iustice vpon fellows. For this iustice is more beautiful in apperaunce, and more florishyng to the shewe, then either iuste or profitable. For by suffring your youthe wantonlie, and viciously to be brought vp, and to be infected, euen frome their tender age, by litle and litle with vice: then a goddes name to be punished, when they commit the same faultes after being come to mans state, which from their youthe they were euer like to do: In this pointe, I praye you, what other thing do you, then make theues, and then punish them? Now as I was thus speakinge, the Lawier began to make hym selfe readie to answere, and was determined with him selfe to vse the common fashon, and trade of disputers, whiche be more diligent in reherfinge, then answering, as thinking the memorie worthy of the chief praise. In dede fir, quod he, you haue said wel, being but a straunger, and one that myghte rather heare some thing of these matters, then haue any exacte or perfecte knowledge of the same, as I wil incontinent by open proffe make manifest and plaine. For firste I will reherse in order all that you haue sayde: then I wyll declare wherein you be deceaued, through lacke of knowledge, in all oure fashions, maners and customes: and last of all I will aunswere youre argumetes, and confute them euery one. Firste therefore I wyll begynne where I promysed. Foure thynges you semed to me. Holde youre peace, quod the Car-

The corrupte
education of
youth a mother
of theuery.

dinall: for it appeareth that you will make no shorte aunswere, which make suche a beginnyng. Wherefore at this time you shall not take the paynes to make youre aun[s]were, but kepe it to youre nexte meatyng, which I woulde be righte glad, that it might be euen to morrowe next, onles either you or mayster Raphael haue any earnest let. But nowe mayster Raphael, I woulde verye gladly heare of you, why you thinke theste not worthy to be punished with deathe, or what other punishmente you can deuise more expedient to the weale publike. For I am sure you are not of that minde, that you woulde haue theste escape vnpunished. For yf nowe the extreme punishmente of deathe can not cause them to leaue stealinge, then yf ruffians and robbers shoulde be fuer of their lyues: what violence, what feare were hable to holde their handes from robbinge, whiche woulde take the mitigation of the punishmente, as a a verye prouocation to the mischiefe? Suerlye my lorde, quod I, I thinke it not ryght nor iustice, that ye losse of money should cause the losse of mans life. For myne opinion is, that all the goodes in the worlde are not hable to counteruayle mans life. But if they would thus fay: that the breakyng of iustice, and the transgression of the lawes is recompensed with this punishment, and not the losse of the money, then why maye not this extreme and rigorous iustice wel be called plaine iniurie? For so cruell gouernaunce, so streite rules, and vnmercyful lawes be not allowable, that if a small offense be committed, by and by the sword should be drawen: Nor so stoical ordinaunces are to be borne withall, as to counte al offenses of suche equalitie, that the killing of a man, or the takyng of his money from him were both a matter, and the one no more heinous offense then the other: betwene the whyche two, yf we haue anye respecte to equitie, no similitude or equalitie consisteth. God commaundeth vs that we shall not kill. And be we

He is worthe-
lie put to silence
that is to full
of wordes.

That theste
ought not to be
punished by
death.

Straites lawes
not allowable.

then so hastie to kill a man for takinge a litle money? And if any man woulde vnderstande killing by this commaundement of God, to be forbidden after no larger wise, then mans constitutions define killynge to be lawfull, then whye maye it not lykewise by

That mans law ought not to be preiudicial to gods law.

mans constitutions be determined after what fort whordome, fornication, and per- iurie may be lawfull? For where as by the permission of God, no man hath power to kil neither himself, nor yet anye other man: then yf a lawe made by the consent of men, concerninge slaughter of men: oughte to be of suche strengthe, force, and vertue, that they which contrarie to the commaundement of God haue killed those, whom this constitution of man commaunded to be killed, be cleane quite and exempte out of the bondes and daunger to Gods commaundement: shall it not then by this reason follow, that the power of Gods commaundemente shall extende no further, then mans lawe doeth define, and permitte? And so shall it come to passe, that in like maner mans constitutions in al thinges shal determine how farre the obseruation of all Gods commaundementes shall extende. To be shorte Moyfes law, though it were vngentle and sharpe, as a law that was geuen to bondmen, yea; and them very obstinate, stubborne, and styfnecked: yet it punished thefte by the purse, and not wyth death. And

Thefte in the olde lawe not punished by death.

let vs not thinke that God in the newe law of clemencie and mercye, vnder the whiche he ruleth vs with fatherlie gentlenes, as his deare children hathe geuen vs greater scoupe and licence to the execution of cruelte, one vpon another. Nowe ye haue heard the reasons whereby, I am perswaded that this punishment is vnlawful. Furthermore I thinke

What inconuenience ensueth of punishynge theft with death.

ther is no body that knoweth not, how vnreasonable, yea: how pernicious a thinge it is to the weale publike, that a thefe and an homicide or murderer, shoulde suffer equall and like punishment. For the thefe feynge that

man, that is condempned for thefte in no leffe ieoperdie, nor iudged to no leffe punishment, then him that is conuicte of manflaughter: throughe this cogitation onelye he is strongly and forciblye prouoked, and in a maner constreined to kill him, whome els he woulde haue but robbed.

Punishing of theft by deathe causeth the thefe to be a murthrer.

For the murder beyng ones done, he is in leffe feare, and in more hoope that the deede shall not be bewrayed or knowen, seyng the partye is nowe deade, and rydde oute of the waye, which onelye mighte haue vttered and disclofed it. But if he chaunce to be taken and discruied: yet he is in no more daunger and ieoperdie, then if he had committed but single fellonye. Therefore whiles we go about with fuche crueltie to make theues aferd, we prouoke them to kil good men. Now as touchinge this question, what punishement were more commodious and better: that truelye in my iudgemente is easier to be founde, then what punishment might be wurse. For why should we doubt that to be a good and a profytable

What lawfull punishment may be deuised for theft.

waye for the punishement of offendours, whiche we knowe did in tymes paste so longe please the Romaines, men in the administration of a weale publique mooste experte, politique, and cunnyng? Suche as amonge them were conuicte of great and heynous trespaces, them they condempned into stone quarries, and into mienes to digge mettalle,

Howe the Romaines punished thefte.

there to be kepte in cheynes all the dayes of their life. But as concernyng this matter, I allow the ordinance of no nation so wel as yat which I sawe, whiles I trauailed abroad aboute the worlde, vsed in Persia amonge the people that comenly be called the Polylerites. Whose land is both large and ample, and also well and wittelye gouerned: and the people in all conditions free and ruled by their owne lawes, sauinge that they paye a yearelye tribute to the great king of Persia. But bicause they be farre from the sea, compassed and inclofed, almoste rounde aboute with hyghe moun-

A worthy and commendable punishment of theues in the weale publique of the Polylerites in Persia.

taines, and do content them felues with the fruites of their owne lande, whiche is of it felfe verye fertile and frutfull: for this cause neither they go to other countreis, nor other come to them. And accordynge to the olde custome of the land, they desire not to enlarge the boundes of their dominions: and those that they haue by reason of the highe hilles be easely defended: and the tribute whiche they paye to their chiefe lord and kinge, setteth them quite and free from warfare. Thus their life is commodious rather then gallante, and may better be called happie: or welthy, then notable or famous. For they be not knowen asmuch, as by name, I suppose sauing only to theyr next neighbours and borderes. They that in this lande be atteinted and conuict of felony, make restitution of that which they stole, to the righte owner: and not (as they do in other landes) to the kinge: whome they thinke to haue no more righte to the thieftolen thinge, then the thiefe him felfe hathe. But if the thing be losfe or made away, then the value of it is paide of the gooddes of such offenders, which els remaineth all whole to their wiues, and children. And they them felues be condempned to be common laborers, and, oneles the thefte be verie heinous, they be neyther locked in prison, nor fettered in giues, but be vntied and go at large, laboring in the common workes. They that refuse labour, or go slowly and slacklye to their worke, be not onely tied in cheynes, but also pricked forward with stripes. But beinge diligente aboute theyr worke they liue without checke or rebuke. Euery night they be called in by name: and be locked in theyr chambers. Beside their dayly labour, their life is nothing hard or incommodious. Their fare is indifferent good, borne at the charges of the weale publike, bicause they be commen seruauntes to the commen wealth. But their charges in all places of the lande is not borne alike. For in some partes that which is bestowed vpon them is gathered in almes. And thoughe that waye be vncertain, yet

A priuie nippe
for them that
do otherwise.

Theues con-
dempned to be
commen labour-
ers.

the people be so full of mercy and pitie, that none is found more profitable or plentiful. In some places certain landes be appointed hereunto: of the reuenewes whereof they be maintained. And in some places euery man gæueth a certain tribute for ye same vse and purpose. Againe in some partes of the land these seruing men (for so be these Seruing men. dampned persons called) do no common worke, but as euery priuate man nedeth labourours, so he commeth into the markette place, and there hierethe some of them for meate and drinke, and a certeine limited waiges by the daye, sumwhat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man. It is also lawefull for them to chastice the flouthe of these seruinge men with stripes. By this meanes they neuer lacke worke, and besides the gayninge of their meate and drinke, euerye one of them bringeth dailie some thing into the common treasourie. All and euery one of them be apparaild in one coloure. Their heades be not polled or shauen, but rounded a lytle aboute the eares. And the tpye of the one eare is cut of. Euery one of them maye take meate and drinke of their trendes, and also a coate of their owne colloure: but to receiue money is deathe, aswell to the geuer, as to the receiuoure. And no lesse iopardie it is for a free man to receiue moneye or a seruyng manne for anye maner of cause: and lykewise for seruinge men to touche weapons. The seruinge men of euerye feuerall shire be distincte and knowne frome other by their feuerall and distincte badges: whiche to caste awaye is death: as it is also to be fene oute of the precincte of their owne shire, or to talke with a seruinge man, of another shyre. And it is lesse daunger to them, for to intende to runne awaye, then to do it in dede. An euell intent estemed as the dede. Yea and to conceal suche an enterpries in a seruinge man it is deathe, in a free man seruitude. Of the contrarie parte, to him that openeth and vttereth suche counselles, be decreed large giftes: to a free man a great some of money, to a seruing man freedome:

and to them bothe forgeuenes and pardone of that they were of counsell in that pretence. So that it can neuer be so good for them to go forewarde in their euyl purpose, as by repentaunce to tourne backe. This is the lawe and order in this behalfe, as I haue shewed you. Wherein what humanitie is vsed, howe farre it is frome

The right end
and intent of
punishment.

crueltie, and howe commodious it is, you do playnelye perceauē: For asmuche as the ende of their wrath and punyshement intendeth nothyng else, but the destruction of vices, and sauynge of menne: wyth so vsynge, and ordering them, that they can not chuse but be good, and what harme so euer they did before, in the residue of theyr life to make a mendes for the same. Moreouer it is so litle feared, that they shoulde tourne againe to their vicious conditions, that wayefaringe men wyl for their sauegarde chuse them to theyr guydes before any other, in euery sheir chaunging and taking new. For if they would committe robbery, they haue nothinge aboute them meate for that purpose. They may touch no weapons: money founde aboute them shoulde betraie the robbery. They shoulde be no sooner taken with the maner, but furthwith they shoulde be punished. Neither they can haue any hope at all to skape away by flienge. For howe should a man, that in no parte of his apparell is like other men, flye preuelie and vnknownen, onles he woulde runne away naked? Howebeit so also flyng he shoulde be discried by the roundyng of his heade, and his eare marke. But it is a thinge to be doubted, that they will laye theyr heddes together, and conspire againste the weale publique. No no I warrante you. For the seruynge men of one sheire alone coulde neuer hoope to bringe to passe suche an enterpryse, without sollicitinge, entysynge, and alluryng the seruynge men of manye other shieres to take their partes. Whiche thinge is to them so impossible, that they maye not asmuch as speake or talke together, or salute one another. No it is not to be thoughte that they woulde

make theyr owne countrey men and companions of their counsell in suche a matter, whiche they knowe well shoulde be ieopardie to the concealour thereof, and great commoditie and goodnes to the opener and detectour of the same. Whereas on the other parte, there is none of them all hopeles or in dispaire to recouer againe his former estate of fredome, by humble obedience, by patiente suffringe, and by geuing good tokens and likelyhoode of himselfe, that he wyll euer after that, lyue like a trewe, and an honest man. For euerye yeare diuers of them be restored to their freedom: through the commendation of their patience. Whan I had thus spoken, sayinge moreouer that I coulde see no cause why this ordre might not be had in Englande with muche more profyete, then the Iustice whiche the lawyer so heighly prayted: Naye, quod the lawier, this coulde neuer be so stablished in Englande, but that it must nedes bringe the weale publike into great ieoperdie and hafarde. And as he was thus sayinge, he shaked his heade, and made a wrie mouthe, and so he helde his peace. And all that were there present, with one assent agreed to his sayinge. Well, quod the Cardinall, yet it were harde to iudge withoute a proffe, whether this order would do wel here or no. But when the sentence of death is geuen, if than the kinge shoulde commaunde execution to be deferred and spared, and would proue this order and fassion: takinge awaye the priuileges of all faintuaries: if then the profe shoulde declare the thinge to be good and profitable, than it were wel done that it were stablished: Els the condempned and reprimed persons may aswel and as iustly be put to death after this profe, as when they were first cast. Neither any ieoperdie can in the meane space growe herof. Yea, and me thynketh that these ^{Vagaboundes.} vagaboundes may very wel be ordered after the same fassion, against whom we haue hitherto made so many iawes, and so litle preuailed. When the Cardinall had thus saide, than euery man gaue greate praife

to my fayinges, whiche a litle before they had dis-
 allowed. But moost of al was esteemed that
 which was spoken of vagaboundes, bicause
 it was the cardinalles owne addition. I can
 not tell whether it were best to reherse the communica-
 tion that folowed, for it was not very fad. But yet you
 shall heare it, for there was no euil in it, and partlye
 it pertained to the matter before saide. There chaunced
 to stand by a certein iesting parasite, or scoffer, which
 wold seme to resemble and counterfeit ye foole. But
 he did in fuche wise counterfeit, that he was almost ye
 verye fame in dede that he labored to represent: he
 so studied with wordes and fayinges brought furth so
 out of time and place to make spote and moue laugh-
 ter, that he himselfe was oftener laughed at then his
 iestes were. Yet the foolishhe fellowe brought out
 now and then such indifferent and reasonable stufte,
 that he made the prouerbe true, which saith: he that
 shoteth oft, at the last shal hit the mark. So that when
 one of the company sayd, that throughe my communi-
 cation a good order was founde for theues, and that
 the Cardinal also had wel prouided for vagaboundes,
 so that only remained some good prouision
 to be made for them that through sicknes
 and age were fallen into pouertie, and were
 become so impotent and vnweldie, that they were not
 hable to worke for their liuinge: Tufhe (quod he) let me
 alone with them: you shall se me do well ynough with
 them. For I had rather then any good, that this kinde
 of people were driuen sumwher oute of my sight, they
 haue so fore troubled me manye times and ofte, when
 they haue wyth their lamentable teares begged money
 of me: and yet they coulde neuer to my mynde so tune
 their songe, that thereby they euer got of me one far-
 thinge. For euer more the one of these two chaunced:
 either that I would not, or els that I could not, bicause
 I had it not. Therefore now they be waxed wise. For
 when they see me go by, bicause they will not leefe
 theyr labour, they iet me passe and faye not one worde

The wauering
 iudgementes
 of flatterers.

Sicke, aged,
 impotent per-
 sons and beg-
 gers.

to me. So they loke for nothings of me, no in good sothe no more, then yf I were a priest, or a monke. But I will make a lawe, that all these beggers shall be distributed, and bestowed into houses of religion. The men shall be made laye brethren, as they call them, and the women nunnes. Hereat the Cardinal smiled, and allowed it in iest, yea and all the residue in good earnest. But a certeine freare graduate in diuinitie, toke suche pleasure and delite in this ieste of priestes and monkes, that he also beyngel a man of grissie and sterne grauitie, began merilie and wantonlye to ieste and taunt. Naye, quod he, you shall not so be ridde and dispatched of beggers, oneles you make some prouision also for vs frears. Why, quod the iester, that is done already, for my lord him selfe set a verie good order for you, when he decreed that vagaboundes should be kept straite, and set to worke: for you be the greatest and veriest vagaboundes that be. This iest also, when they sawe the Cardinall not disproue it, every man toke it gladly, sauyng onelye the Frear. For he (and that no marueile) beyngel thus touched on the quicke, and hit on the gaule, so fret, so fumed, and chafed at it, and was in such a rage, that he could not refraine himselfe from chidinge, skolding, railing, and reuiling. He called the fellow ribbalde, villaine, iauel, backbiter, sclauderer, and the childe of perdition: cingel therwith terrible threateninges out of holie Scripture. Then the iestyngel scoffer beganne to playe the scoffer in dede, and verely he was good at yt, for he could play a part in that play no man better. Patient youre selfe good maister Freare, quod he, and be not angrie, for scripture saith: in youre patience you shall saue your soules. Then the Freare (for I will rehearse his own very woordes) No gallous wretche, I am not angrie (quod he) or at the leaste wise, I do not sinne: for the Psalmiste saith, be you angrie, and sinne not. Then the Cardinal spake gently to the freare, and desired him to quiete him-

A comen pro-
uerbe amonge
beggers.

A mery talke
betwene a
Freare and a
foole.

Talke qualifi-
ed according to
the person that
speaketh.

felfe. No my lord, quod he, I fpeak not but of a good zeale as I oughte : for holye men had a good zeale. Wherefore it is fayd : the zeale of thy houfe hath eaten me. And it is fonge in the church The fkorner of Heli-zeus, whiles he went vp into the houfe of God, felte the zeale of the bald, as peradventure this fkorning vil-laine ribaulde shall feele. You do it (quod the Cardi-nall) perchaunce of a good mynde and affection : but me thinketh you fhould do, I can not tell whether more holiie, certes more wifely, yf you woulde not fet youre witte to a fooles witte, and with a foole take in hande a foolifhe contention. No forsoeth my lorde (quod he) I fhoulde not do more wyfelye. For Salomon the wyfe faieth : Anfwere a foole accordinge to his folye, like as I do nowe, and do shew him the pit that he shall fall into, yf he take not hede. For if many fkorner of Heli-zeus, whiche was but one bald man, felte the zeale of the balde, how muche more shall one fkorner of many frears feele, amonge whom be manye balde men? And we haue alfo the popes bulles, whereby all that mocke and fkorne vs be excommunicate, fufpended, and acur-fed. The cardinal, feing that none ende would be made, sent awaie the iester by a preuy becke, and turned the communication to an other matter. Shortly after, when he was rifen from the table, he went to heare his fueters, and fo dimiffed vs. Looke maifter More wyth how longe and tedious a tale I haue kept you, which surely I woulde haue bene afhamed to haue done, but that you fo earnestly desired me, and did after fuch a sorte geue eare vnto it, as though you would not that any parcel of that communication should be left out. Whiche thoughe I haue done fumwhat briefely, yet could I not chufe but rehearse it, for the iudgemente of them, whyche when they had improued and dif-allowed my fayinges, yet incontinent hearynge the Cardi-nall allowe them, dyd themfelues alfo approue the fame: fo impudently flattering him, that they wer nothing afhamed to admitte, yea almoſte in good earnest, his iesters folish inuentions : bicaufe that he him felfe by

smiling at them did seme not to disproue them. So that hereby you may right wel perceauē how litle the courtiers woulde regarde and esteeme me and my fayinges.

I ensure you maister Raphael, quod I, I toke greate delectacion in hearing you: all thinges that you saide were spoken so wittilye and so pleasauntly. And me thought me selfe to be in the meane time, not onelye at home in my countrei, but also through the pleasaunt remembraunce of the Cardinal, in whose house I was broughte vp of a childe, to waxe a child againe. And frend Raphael, though I did beare verye greate loue towards you before, yet feynge you do so earnestlye fauoure this man, you wyll not beleue howe muche my loue towards you is nowe increased. But yet, all this notwithstandinge, I can by no meanes chaunge my mind, but that I must nedes beleue, that you, if you be disposed, and can fynde in youre hearte to follow some Princes courte, shall with your good counselles greatlye helpe and further the commen wealth. Wherfore there is nothyng more apperteyning to youre dewty, that is to faye, to the dewtie of a good man. For where as your Plato iudgeth that weale publiques shall by this meanes atteyne perfecte felicitie, eyther if philosophers be kynges, or elles yf kynges geue themselues to the studie of Philosophie, how farre I praye you, shall commen wealthes then be frome thys felicitie, yf Philosophers wyll vouchesaufe to enstruct kynges with their good counsell?

They be not so vnkinde (quod he) but they woulde gladlye do it, yea, manye haue done it alreadye in bookes that they haue put furthe, if kynges and princes would be willyng and readye to folowe good counsell. But Plato doubtlesse dyd well foresce, onelesse kynges themselues woulde applye their mindes to the studye of Philosophie, that elles they woulde neuer thoroughlye allowe the counsell of Philosophers, beyng themselves before euen from their tender age infected, and corrupt with peruerse, and euill opinions. Whiche thyng Plato hymselfe proued trewe in kinge Dionyse. If I shoulde propose to any kyng

wholsome decrees, doynge my endeuoure to plucke out of hys mynde the pernicious originall causes of vice and noughtines, thinke you not that I shoulde furthewith either be driuen away, or elles made a laughyng stocke? Well suppose I were with the Frenche kynge, and there fytinge in his counsell, whiles in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge him selfe there beyng presente in hys owne personne they beate their braynes, and ferche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by

The Frenche-
men priu lie he
counseled from
the desire of
Italie.

what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe fugitiue Naples, And then howe to conquere the Venetians, and how to bringe vnder his iurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with diuers other landes, whose kingdomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose inuaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geue them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they haue brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. An other thinketh best to hieere the Germaynes. An other woulde haue the fauoure of the Swychers wonne with money. An others aduyse is to appease the puiffaunte power of the Emperoures maiestie wyth golde, as with a mooste pleasaunte, and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles an other gyueth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restooore vnto him hys owne kyngedome of Nauarra, as a full assurauce of peace. An other commeth in with his fue egges, and aduifeth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieters of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeste doubt of all, what to do in the meane time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the

Lauince knigh-
tes.

Englishmen, and with mooste fuer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes, and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunteers the Englishmen shoulde flurre neuer so lytle, incontinent to set vpon them. And moreouer preuile and secretlye (for openlie it maye not be done by the truce that is taken) priuelie therfore I saye to make muche of some Piere of Englande, that is bannished hys countrey, whiche muste cleime title to the crowne of the realme, and affirme hym selfe iuste inherytoure thereof, that by this subtill meanes they maye holde to them the kinge, in whome elles they haue but small truste and affiaunce. Here I saye, where so great and heyghe matters be in consultation, where so manye noble and wyse menne counsell their kynge onelie to warre, here yf I felie man shoulde rise vp and will them to tourne ouer the leafe, and learne a newe lesson, sayinge that my counsell is not to medle with Italy, but to tarye styll at home, and that the kyngedome of Fraunce alone is almooste greater, then that it maye well be gouerned of one man: so that the kyng shoulde not nede to studye howe to gette more: And then shoulde propose vnto them the decrees of the people that be called the Achoriens, whiche be situate ouer agaynste the Ilande of Utopia A notable example, and worthy to be followed. on the southeaste side. These Achoriens ones made warre in their kinges quarrell for to gette him another kingdome, whiche he laide claime vnto, and auauenced hymselfe ryghte inheritoure to the crowne thereof, by the tytle of an olde aliaunce. At the last when they had gotten it, an[d] sawe that they hadde euen as muche vexation and trouble in kepyng it, as they had in gettyng it, and that either their newe conquered subiectes by fundrye occasions were makynge daylye infurrections to rebell agaynste them, or els that other countreis were continuallie with diuers inrodes and forragynge inuadyng them: so that they were

euer fighting either for them, or agaynste them, and neuer coulde breake vp theyr campes: Seynge them felues in the meane season pyllled and impouerished: their money caried out of the realme: their own men killed to maintaine the glorye of an other nation: when they had no warre, peace nothyng better then warre, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselues to corrupte and wicked maners: that they had taken a delite and pleasure in robbinge and stealing: that through manslaughter they had gathered boldnes to mischief: that their lawes were had in contempte, and nothing set by or regarded: that their king beyng troubled with the charge and gouernaunce of two kingdomes, could not nor was not hable perfectlie to discharge his office towards them both: feing againe that all these euellles and troubles were endles: at the laste layde their heades together, and like faithfull and louinge subiectes gaue to their kynge free choise and libertie to kepe slyll the one of these two kingdomes whether he would: alleginge that he was not hable to kepe both, and that they were mo then might well be gouerned of halfe a king: forasmuche as no man woulde be content to take him for his mulettour, that kepeth an other mans moyles besydes his. So this good prince was constreyned to be content with his olde kyngedome, and to geue ouer the newe to one of his frendes. Who shortelye after was violentlie driuen out. Furthermore if I shoulde declare vnto them, that all this busie preparaunce to warre, wherby so many nations for his sake should be broughte into a troublesome hurlei-burley when all his coffers were emptied, his treasures wasted, and his people destroied, should at the length through some mischance be in vaine and to none effect: and that therefore it were best for him to content him selfe with his owne kingedome of fraunce, as his forfathers and predeceffours did before him: to make much of it, to enrich it, and to make it as flourishing as he could, to endeuoure him selfe to loue his subiectes, and againe to be beloued of them, willingly

to liue with them, peaceably to gouerne them, and with other kyngdomes not to medle, feinge that whiche he hath all redde is euen ynoughe for him, yea and more then he can wel turne hym to: this myne aduyse maister More, how thinke you it would be harde and taken?

So God helpe me not very thankfully, quod I.

Wel let vs procede then, quod he. Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinge their wittes and deuifinge, what subtell crafte they myght inuente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to rayse and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse them it is worthe, when he must receiue or gather any. For thus great sommes shalbe payde wyth a lytyl money, and where lytle is due muche shalbe receaued. An other counselleth to Enhauncyng and imbasynge of coynes. fayne warre, that when vnder this coloure Counterfayte warres. and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundance of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communitie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe vpon mans bloude, lyke a louing and a mercifull prince. An other putteth the kyng in remembrance of certeine olde and moughtteaten The renewing of olde lawes. lawes, that of longe tyme haue not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made, euerie man hath transgredged. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kyng to require: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable, as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of iustice. An other aduyseth him to forbidde manye Restrayntes. thinges vnder greate penalties and fines, specially suche thinges as is for the peoples profit not be vsed, and afterwarde to dispence for money with them, whyche by this prohibition substeyne losse and dammage. For by this meanes the fauour of the people is wonne, and profite riseth two wayes. First by tak-

inge forfaytes of them whome couetoufnes of gaynes
 Sellyng of li- hath brought in daunger of this statute, and
 cences. also by felling priuileges and licences,
 whyche the better that the prince is forsothe, the deerer
 he selleth them: as one that is lothe to graunte to any
 priuate persone anye thinge that is againste the proffite
 of his people. And therefore maye fel none but at an
 exceeding dere pryce. An other giueth the kyng coun-
 fel to endaunger vnto his grace the iudges of the
 Realme, that he maye haue them euer on his side, and
 that they maye in euerye matter despute and reason for
 the kynges right. Yea and further to call them into his
 palace and to require them there to argue and discusse
 his matters in his owne presence. So there shalbe no
 matter of his so openlye wronge and vniuste, wherein
 one or other of them, either because he wyl haue sum-
 thinge to allege and obiecte or that he is ashamed to
 faye that whiche is sayde alreadye, or els to pike a
 thanke with his prince, wil not fynde some hole open to
 set a snare in, wherewith to take the contrarie parte in
 a trippe. Thus whiles the iudges cannot agree amonges
 them selves, reasoninge and arguing of that which is
 playne enough, and bringinge the manifest trewth in
 dowte: in the meane season the Kinge maye take
 a fyt occasion to vnderstand the lawe as shal moste
 make for his aduauntage, wherunto all other for shame,
 or for feare wil agree. Then the Iudges may be
 bolde to pronounce on the kynges side. For he that
 geueth sentence for the king, cannot be without a good
 excuse. For it shalbe sufficient for him to haue equitie
 on his part, or the bare wordes of the lawe, or a wry-
 then and wrested vnderstandinge of the same (or els,
 whiche with good and iust Iudges is of greater force then
 all lawes be) the Kynges indisputable prerogative. To
 The sayng of conclude, al the counsellours agre and con-
 riche Crassus. sent together with the ryche Crassus, that
 no abundance of gold can be sufficient for a prince,
 which muste kepe and maynteyne an armie: further-
 more that a kyng, thoughe he would, can do nothinge

vniustlye. - For all that all men haue, yea also the men them selves be all his. And that euery man hath so much of his owne, as ye kynges gentilnes hath not taken from hym. And that it shalbe moste for the kynges aduantage, that his subiectes haue very lytle or nothinge in their possession, as whose fauegarde doth herein consist, that his people doe not waxe wanton and wealthie through riches and libertie, because where these thinges be, there men be not wonte patiently to obeye harde, vniuste, and vnlawefull commaundementes. Where as on the other part neade and pouertie doth holde downe and kepe under stowte courages, and maketh them patient perforce, takynge from them bolde and rebellynge stomakes. Here agayne if I shoulde ryse vp, and boldely affirme that all these counselles be to the kynges dishonoure and reproche, whose honoure and safetie is more and rather supported and vpholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures: and if I should declare that the comminaltie chuefeth their kyng for their owne sake, and not for his sake: to the intent, that through his laboure and studie they might al liue wealthily fauffe from wronges and iniuries: and that therefore the kyng ought to take more care for the wealthe of his people, then for his owne wealthe, euen as the office and dewtie of a shepehearde is in that he is a shepherde, to feede his shepe rather then himselfe. For as towchinge this, that they thinke the defence and mayntenaunce of peace to consist in the pouertie of the people, the thing it selfe sheweth that they be farre out of the waye. For where shal a man finde more wrangling, quarrelling, brawling, and chiding, then among beggers? Who be more desierous of newe mutations and alterations, then they that be not content with the present state of their lyfe? Or finallye who be bolder stomaked to bringe all in a hurlieburlye (therby trustynge to get some windfal) then they that haue nowe nothinge to leefe? And yf any Kyng were so smally regarded, and so lightly esteemed, yea so behated of his subiectes, that

Pouertye the
mother of de-
bate and decal
of realmes.

other wayes he could not kepe them in awe, but onlye by open wronges, by pollinge and shauinge, and by bringinge them to beggerie, fewerly it were better for him to forsake his kingedome, then to holde it by this meanes: whereby though the name of a king be kepte, yet the maiestie is lost. For it is againste the dignitie of a kynge to haue rule ouer beggers, but rather ouer

A worthy saying of Fabrice. ryche and welthie men, Of this mynde was the hardie and couragius Fabrice, when he sayde, that he had rather be a ruler of riche men, then be ryche himselfe. And verelye one man to liue in pleasure and wealth, whyles all other wepe and smarte for it, that is the parte, not of a kynge, but of a iayler. To be shorte as he is a folysh phisition, that cannot cure his patientes disease, onles he caste him in an other fyckenes, so he that cannot amend the liues of his subiectes, but be taking from them the wealth and commoditie of lyfe, he muste nedes graunte that, he knoweth not the feate how to gouerne men. But let him rather amende his owne lyfe, renounce vnhonest pleasures, and forsake pride. For these be the chiefe vices that cause hym to runne in the contempte or hatred of his people. Let him lyue of hys owne, hurtinge no man. Let him doe cost not aboute his power. Let hym restreyne wyckednes. Let him preuente vices, and take awaye the occasions of offenses by well orderinge hys subiectes, and not by sufferynge wickednes to increase afterward to be punyshed. Let hym not be to hastie in callynge agayne lawes, whyche a custome hath abrogated: specially suche as haue bene longe forgotten, and neuer lacked nor neaded. And let hym neuer vnder the cloke and pretence of transgression take suche fynes and forfaytes, as no Iudge wyll suffre a priuate persone to take, as vniuste and ful of gile.

A pleasinge and notable lawe of the Macariens.

Here if I should brynge forth before them the lawe of the Macariens, whiche be not farre distaunt from Utopia: whose Kynge the daye of hys coronation is bounde by a solempne othe, that he shall neuer at anye time haue

in hys treasure aboue a thoufande pounce of golde or fyluer. They faye a verye good kynge, whiche toke more care for the wealthe and commoditie of his countrey, then for th[e] enriching of him felfe, made this lawe to be a ftop and a barre to kinges from heaping and hording vp fo muche money as might impoueryfhe their people. For he forfawe that this fom of treasure woulde fuffice to fupporte the kynge in battaile againft his owne people, if they fhoulde chaunce to rebell: and alfo to maintein his warres againfte the inuafions of his forreyn enemies. Againe he perceiued the fame ftocke of money to be to litle and vnfufficient to encourage and enable him wrongfullye to take away other mens goodes: whyche was the chiefe caufe whie the lawe was made. An other caufe was this. He thought that by this prouifion his people fhoulde not lacke money, wherewith to mayneteyne their dayly occupieng and chaffayre. And feynge the kynge could not chewfe but laye out and beftowe al that came in aboue the prefcript fome of his ftocke, he thought he woulde feke no occafions to doe his fubiectes iniurie. Suche a kynge fhall be feared of euel men, and loued of good men. Thefe, and fuche other informations, yf I fhoulde vfe among men wholye inclined and geuen to the contrarye part, how deaffe hearers thinke you fhoulde I haue?

Deaffe hearers douteles (quod I) And in good faith no marueyle. And to be plaine with you, truelye I can not allowe that fuche communication fhall be vfed, or fuche counfell geuen, as you be fuere fhall neuer be regarded nor receaued. For howe can fo ftraunge informations be profitable, or how can they be beaten into their headdes, whose myndes be allredye preuented: with cleane contrarye perfuafions? This fchole philofophie is not vnpleafaunte amonge frendes in familiare communication, but in the counfelles of kinges, where greate matters be debated and reafoned with greate authoritye, thefe things haue no place.

Schole philofophie in the consultations of Princes hath no place.

That is it whiche I mente (quod he) when I fayde philofophe hadde no place amonge kinges.

In dede (quod I) this schole philosophie hath not: whiche thinketh all thinges mete for euery place. But there is an other philosophye more ciuile, whyche knoweth, as ye wolde say, her owne stage, and thereafter orderynge and behauinge here-
 selfe in the playe that she hathe in hande, playethe her parte accordinglye with comlyenes, vtteringe nothinge oute of dewe ordre and fassyon. And this is the philosophye that you muste vse. Or els whyles a
 A fine and a commodye of Plautus is playinge, and the
 fitte similitude. vyle bondemen skoffynge and tryffeling
 amonge them selfes, yf you shoulde fodenlye come
 vpon the stage in a Philosophers apparrell, and reherse
 oute of Octauia the place wherein Seneca disputeth
 A dumme with Nero: had it not bene better for you
 plaier. to haue played the domme persone, then by
 reherfynge that, whych serued neither for the tyme nor
 place to haue made suche a tragycall comedye or
 gallymalfreye? For by bryngynge in other stuffe that
 nothinge apperteyneth to the presente matter, you
 muste nedes marre and peruert the play that is in
 hand, thoughe the stuffe that you bringe be muche
 better. What part foeuer you haue taken vpon you,
 playe that aswell as you can and make the best of it:
 And doe not therefore disturbe and brynge oute of
 ordre the whole matter, bycause that an other, whyche
 is meryer and better cumraethe to your remembraunce.
 So the case standeth in a common wealthe, and so it is
 in the consultations of Kynges and prynces. Yf euel
 opinions and noughty perswasions can not be vtterly
 and quyte plucked out of their hartes, if you can not
 euen as you wolde remedy vices, which vse and cus-
 tome hath confirmed: yet for this cause you must not
 leaue and forsake the common wealthe: you muste not
 forsake the shippe in a tempeste, because you can not
 rule and kepe downe the wyndes. No nor you muste
 not laboure to dryue into their heades newe and
 straunge informations, whyche you knowe wel shalbe
 nothinge regarded wyth them that be of cleane contrary

mindes. But you must with a crafty wile and a subtell trayne studye and endeouore youre selfe, asmuche as in you lyethe, to handle the matter wyttelye and handesomelye for the purpose, and that whyche you can not turne to good, so to order it that it be not uerye badde. For it is not possible for al thinges to be well, onles all men were good. Whych I thinke wil not be yet thies good many yeares.

By this meanes (quod he) nothinge elles wyl be brought to passe, but whyles that I goe aboute to remedye the madnes of others, I shoulde be euen as madde as they. For if I wolde speake suche thinges that be trewe I must neades speake suche thinges: but as for to speake false thinges, whether that be a philosophers parte or no I can not tel, truelye it is not my part. Howebeit this communication of mine, thoughe peraduenture it maye seme vnpleasaunte to them, yet can I not see why it shoulde seme straunge, or folishelye newfangled. If so be that I should speake those thinges that Plato faynethe in his weale publique: or that the Utopians doe in theirs, these thinges though they were (as they be in dede) better, yet they myghte seme spoken oute of place. Forasmuche as here amonges vs, euerye man hathe his possessions feuerall to him selfe, and there all thinges be common. But what was in my communication conteyned, that mighte not, and oughte not in anye place to be spoken? Sauynge that to them whyche haue throughlye decreed and determined with them selves to runne hedlonges the contrary waye it can not be acceptable and pleasaunt, because it calleth them backe, and sheweth them the ieopardies, Verilye yf all thynges that euell and vitious maners haue caused to seme inconueniente and noughte should be refused, as thinges vnmete and reprochfull, then we must among Christen people wynke at the moste parte of al those thinges, whych Christ taught vs, and so streitly forbad them to be winked at, yat those thinges also whiche he whispered in ye eares of his disciples he

The Utopia
weale publi-
que.

commaunded to be proclaimed in open houfes. And yet ye moſt parte of them is more diffident from the maners of the worlde nowe a dayes, then my communication was. But preachers flie and wilie men followynge youre counſel (as I ſuppoſe) bicauſe they ſaw men euell willing to frame theyr maners to Chriſtes rule, they haue wreſted and wriede his doctryne, and like a rule of leade haue applyed it to mennes maners: that by ſome meanes at the leaſte waye, they myghte agree together. Whereby I can not ſee what good they haue done: but that men may more ſickerlye be euell. And I truelye ſhoulde preuaile euen as litle in kinges counſelles. For either I muſte ſaye otherwayes then they ſaye, and then I were as good to ſaye nothinge, or els I muſte ſaye the ſame that they ſaye, and (as Mitio ſaieth in Terence) helpe to further their madnes. For that craftye wyle, and ſubtil traine of yours, I can not perceaue to what purpoſe it ſerueth, wherewith you wolde haue me to ſtudy and endeouore my ſelfe, yf all thinges can not be made good, yet to handle them wittily and handſomely for the purpoſe, yat as farre forth as is poſſible they, may not be very euell. For there is no place to diſſemble in, nor to wincke in. Noughtye counſelles muſte be openlye allowed and verye peſtilent decrees muſte be approued. He ſhalbe counted worſe then a ſpye, yea almoſte as euell as a traytour, that with a faynte harte doth prayſe euell and noyeſome decrees. Moreouer a man canne haue no occaſion to doe good, chaunſinge into the companye of them, whych wyl ſoner peruerte a good man, then be made good them ſelfes: through whoſe euell companie he ſhalbe marred, or els if he remayne good and innocent, yet the wickednes and follye of others ſhalbe imputed to hym, and layde in his necke. So that it is impoſſible with that craftye wyele, and ſubtel trayne to turne anye thinge to better. Wherefore Plato by a goodlye ſimilitude declareth, why wiſe men refraine to medle in the common wealthe. For when they ſee the people ſwarme into the ſtretes, and daily wet to the ſkinne with rayne, and yet can

not perswade them to goe out of the rayne, and to take their houses, knowynge wel, that if they shoulde goe out to them, they should nothinge preuayle, nor wyne ought by it, but with them be wette also in the raine, they do kepe them selves within their houses, being content that they be faffe them selues, feinge they cannot remedye the follye of the people. Howe be it doubtlesse maister More (to speke truelye as my mynde geueth me) where possessions be priuate, where money beareth all the stroke, it is harde and almoste impossible that there the weale publique maye iustelye be gouerned, and prosperouslye floryshe. Onles you thinke thus: that Iustyce is there executed, where all thinges come into the handes of euell men, or that prosperitye there floryssheth, where all is diuided amonge a fewe: whyche fewe neuerthelesse doe not leade their liues very wealthely, and the refydewe lyue myserablye, wretchedlye, and beggerlye. Wherefore when I confyder with my selfe and weye in my mynde the wyse, and godlye ordinaunces of the Utopians, amonge whome with verye fewe lawes all thinges be so wel and wealthelye ordered, that vertue is had in pryce and estimation, and yet all thinges beinge there common, euerye man hath aboundaunce of euerye thinge. Againe on the other part, when I compare with them so manye nations euer makinge newe lawes, yet none of them all well and sufficientlye, furnysshed with lawes: where euerye man calleth that he hath gotten, his owne proper and priuate goodes, where so many newe lawes daylye made be not sufficiente for euerye man to enioye, defend, and knowe from an other mans that whych he calleth his owne: which thinge the infinite controuersies in the lawe, dayle rysynge, neuer to be ended, playnly declare to be trewe. These thinges (I say) when I consider with me selfe, I holde wel with Plato, and doe nothinge marueille, that he woulde make no lawes for them, that refused those lawes, whereby all men shoulde haue and enioye equall portions of welthes and commodities.

Plato wylled
al things in a
common wealth
to be commen.

For the wise man did easely foresee, this to bee the one and onely waye to the wealth of a commonaltie, yf equalitie of all thinges should be brought in and stablyshed. Whyche I thinke is not possible to be obserued, where euerye mans gooddes be proper and peculiare to him selfe. For where euerye man vnder certeyne tytles and pretences draweth and plucketh to himselfe asmuch as he can, so that a fewe deuide among them selves all the whole riches, be there neuer so muche abundaunce and floore, there to the residewe is lefte lacke and pouertye. And for the moste parte it chaunceth, that this latter sorte is more worthy to enioye that state of wealth, then the other be: bycause the ryche men be couetous, craftye, and vnprofitable. On the other parte the poore be lowly, simple, and by their daylye labour more profitable to the common welthe then to them selves. Thus I doe fullye perswade me selfe, that no equall and iuste distribution of thinges can be made, nor that perfecte wealth shall euer be among men, onles this propriety be exiled and bannished. But so long as it shal continew, so long shal remaine among the most and best part of men the heuy, and ineuitable burden of pouerty and wretchednes. Whiche, as I graunte that it maye be sumwhat eased, so I vtterly denye that it can wholly be taken away. For if there were a statute made, that no man should possesse aboue a certeyne measure of grounde, and that no man shoulde haue in his stocke aboue a prescripte and appointed some of money: if it were by certein lawes decreed, that neither the Kinge shoulde be of to greate power, neither the people to haute and wealthy, and that offices shoulde not be obtained by inordinate suite, or by brybes and gyftes: that they shoulde neither be bought nor sold, nor that it shoulde be nedeful for the officers, to be at any cost or charge in their offices: for so occasion is geuen to theym by fraude and rauin to gather vp their money againe, and by reason of giftes and bribes the offices be geuen to rich men, which shoulde rather haue bene

executed of wise men: by such lawes I say, like as sicke bodies that be desperat and past cure, be wont with continual good cherishing to be kept and botched vp for a time: so these euels also might be lightened and mitigated. But yat thei may be perfectly cured, and brought to a good and vpryght state, it is not to be hoped for, whiles euery man is maister of his owne to him selfe. Yea and whyles you goe aboute to doe youre cure of one parte, you shall make bygger the fore of an other parte, so the healpe of one causeth anothers harme: forasmuche as nothings can be geuen to annye one, onles it be taken from an other.

But I am of a contrary opinion (quod I) for me thinketh that men shal neuer there liue wealthele, where all thinges be commen. For howe can there be abundance of gooddes, or of any thing, where euery man withdraweth his hande from labour? Whome the regard of his owne gaines driueth not to worke, but the hope that he hath in other mens trauayles maketh him slowthfull. Then when they be pricked with pouertye, and yet no man can by any lawe or right defend that for his owne, which he hathe gotten with the laboure of his owne handes, shal not there of necessitie be continual fedition and blodeshed? Speciallye the authoritye and reuerence of magistrates beinge taken awaye, whiche, what place it maye haue with such men amonge whome is no difference, I cannot deuise.

I maruel not (quod he) that you be of this opinion. For you conceaue in youre minde either none at al, or els a verye false Image and similitude of this thing. But yf you had bene with me in Utopia, and had presentelye sene theire fasshions and lawes, as I dyd, whyche liued there. v. yeares, and moore, and wolde neuer haue commen thence, but onlye to make that newe lande knowen here: Then doubtles you wolde graunt, that you neuer sawe people wel ordered, but onlye there.

Surely (quod maister Peter) it shalbe harde for you to make me beleue, that there is better order in that

newe lande, then is here in these countrys, that wee knowe. For good wittes be aswel here as there: and I thinke oure commen wealthes be auncienter than theirs: wherin long vse and experience hath found out many thinges commodious for mannes lyfe, besides that manye thinges heare amonge vs haue bene founde by chaunce, which no wytte colde euer haue deuysed.

As touchinge the auncientnes (quod he) of common wealthes, than you might better iudge, if you had red the histories and cronicles of that land, which if we may beleue, cities were there, before men were here. Nowe what thinge foeuer hetherto by witte hath bene deuysed, or found by chaunce, that myght be aswel there as here. But I thinke verily, though it were so that we did passe them in witte: yet in study, in trauaile, and in labourfome endeouere they farre passe vs. For (as their Chronicles testifie) before our arriual there, they neuer hard any thing of vs, whome they cal the vltraequinociales: sauing that ones about. M.CC. [twelve hundred] yeares ago, a certeine shyppe was lost by the Ile of Utopia whiche was driuen thether by tempest. Certeine Romaines and Egyptians were cast on lande. Whyche after that neuer wente thence. Marke nowewhat profite they tooke of this one occasion through delygence and earnest trauaile. There was no crafte nor scyence within the impire of Rome wherof any profite could rise, but they either lerned it of these straungers, or els of them taking occasion to searche for it, founde it oute. So greate proffite was it to them that euer anye wente thither from hence. But yf annye like chaunce before this hath brought anye man from thence hether, that is as quyte out of remembraunce, as this also perchance in time to come shalbe forgotten, that euer I was there. And like as they quickelye, almoste at the first meting, made their owne, what foeuer is amonge vs wealthelye deuysed: so I suppose it wolde be long before we wolde receaue anythinge, that amonge them is better instituted then amonge vs.

And this I suppose is the chiefe cause whie their common wealthes be wyselyer gouerned, and doe flourish in more wealth, then ours, though we neither in wytte nor riches be their inferiours.

Therefore gentle Maister Raphael (quod I) I praye you and beseeche you describe vnto vs the Ilande. And study not to be shorte: but declare largely in order their groundes, their riuers, their cities, their people, their manners, their ordinaunces, their lawes, and to be short al thinges, that you shal thinke vs desierous to knowe. And you shal thinke vs desierous to know what soeuer we knowe not yet.

There is nothing (quod he) that I wil doe gladlier. For all these thinges I haue freshe in mind. But ye matter requireth leasure.

Let vs go in therfore (quod I) to dinner, afterward we wil bestowe the time at our pleasure.

Content (quod he) be it.

So we went in and dyned. When dinner was done, we came into the same place again, and sate vs downe vpon the same benche, commaunding oure seruantes that no man should trouble vs. Then I and Maister Peter Giles desiered maister Raphael to performe his promise. He therefore seing vs desirous and willing to hearken to him, when he had sit stil and paused a litle while, musing and bethinkinge himselfe, thus he began to speake.

The end of the Firste boke.

The seconde

booke of the communication
of Raphael Hythlodaye, concer-
nyng the best state of a common wealth:
conteyninge the Description of Utopia,
with a large Declaration of the poli-
tike gouernemente, and of all the
good lawes and orders of
the same Ilande.

The sice and
fashion of the
newe ylande
Utopia.



The Iland of Utopia, con-
teynethe in breadthe in
the middell parte of it
(for there it is brodest)
CC. [two hundred]
miles. Which bredthe
continueth throughe
the moſte parte of the
lande Sauing that by litle and litle it commeth in, and
waxeth narrower towards both the endes. Which fetch-
ing about a circuite or compaſſie of V.C. [five hundred]
Miles, do faſſion ye whole Iland like to ye new mone.
Betwene theſe two corners the ſea runneth in, diuidyng
them a ſonder by the diſtaunce. of. xi miles or there
aboutes, and there ſurmountethe into a large and wyde
ſea, which by reaſon that the land on euery ſide com-
paſſieth it about, and ſhiltreth it from the windes, is not
roughe, nor mounteth not with great waues, but almoſt
floweth quietlye, not muche vnlike a greate ſtandinge
powle: and maketh welnieghe all the ſpace within the
bellye of the lande in maner of a hauen: and to the
greate commoditie of the inhabitauntes receaueth in

shyppes towardes euerye parte of the lande. The forefrontes or frontiers of the. ii. corners, what with fordes and shelues, and what with rockes be verye ieoperdous and daungerous. In the middle distaunce betwene them bothe standeth vp aboute the water a greate rocke, which therefore is nothing perilous bycause it is in sight. Vpon the top of this rocke is a faire and a strong tower builded, which they holde with a garrison of men. Other rockes there be lyinge hidde vnder the water, which therefore be daungerous. The channelles be knowen onely to themselves. And therefore it feldome chaunceth that anye straunger oneles he be guided by an Utopian can come in to this hauen. In so muche that they themselves could skafelye entre withoute ieoperdie, but that their way is directed and ruled by certaine lande markes standinge on the shore. By turninge, translatinge, and removinge thies markes into other places they maye destroye their enemies nauies, be they neuer so many. The out side or vtter circuite of ye land is also ful of hauens, but the landing is so fuerly fenced, what by nature, and what by workemanshyp of mans hand, that a fewe defenders maye dryue backe many armies. Howbeit as they saye, and as the fassion of the place it selfe dothe partely shewe, it was not euer compassed about with the sea. But kyng Utopus, whose name, as conquerour the Iland beareth (For before his tyme it was called *Abraxa*) which also broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent perfection in al good fassions, humanitie, and ciuile gentilnes, wherin they nowe goe beyond al ye people of the world: euen at his firste arriuinge and enteringe vpon the lande, furthwith obteynge the victory, caused. xv. [fifteen] myles space of vplandysh grounde, where the sea had no passage, to be cut and dygged vp.

A place naturally fenced necesseth but one garrison.

A politique deuise in the chaunging of land markes.

The Ilande of Utopia so named of king Utopus.

And so brought the sea rounde aboute the lande. He fet to this worke not only the inhabitauntes of the

Ilande (because they should not thinke it done in contumelye and despyte) but also all his owne soldiours. Thus the worke beyng diuided into so greate a nombre of workemen, was with excedinge maruelous spede dyspatched. In so muche that the borderers, whiche at the firste began to mocke, and to ieste at this vaine enterpryse, then turned their derision to marueyle at the successe, and to feare.

Therebe in the Ilande. liiii. [fifty four] large and faire cities, or shiere townes, agreyng all together in one tonge, in lyke maners, institucions, and lawes. They be all fet and situate a lyke, and in al poyntes fashioned alyke, as farforthe as the place or plotte sufferethe.

Of these cities they that be nigheste together be, xxiiii. [twenty four] myles asonder. Againe there is none of them distaunte from the nexte aboue one dayes iorneyeye a fote. There com yearly to Amaurote out of euery cytie. iiii old men wyse and well experienced, there to entreate and debate, of the common matters of the land. For this citie (because it standeth iuste in the middes of the Ilande, and is therefore moste mete for the ambassadours of all partes of the realme) is taken for the chiefe and heade citie. The precinctes and boundes of the shieres be so commodiouslye appoynted oute, and fet fourthe for the cities, that none of them all hath of anye syde lesse then xx. [twenty] myles of grounde, and of some syde also muche more, as of that part where the cities be of farther distaunce asonder.

None of the cities desire to enlarge the boundes and limites of their shieres. For they counte them selves rather the good husbandes, then the owners of their landes. They haue in the cuntry in all partes of the shiere houses or fermes builded, wel appointed and furnyshed with all sortes of instrumentes and tooles belongynge to husbandrye.

These houses be inhabited of the citezens, whyche come

Many handes
make light
worke.

Cities in Uto-
pia.

Similitude
causeth con-
corde.

A meane dis-
taunce be-
twene citie
and citie.

The distribu-
tion of landes.

But this now
adaies is the
grounde of all
mischeife.

Husbandrie and
tillage cheifly
and principally
regarded and
aduanced.

thether to dwelle by courfe. No howsholde or ferme in the countrey hath fewer then. xl. [forty] perfones men and women, befides two bondmen, whyche be all vnder the rule and order of the good man, and the good wyfe of the houle, beinge bothe verye fage, discrete, and aunciente perfones. And euery. xxx. [thirty] fermes or families haue one heade ruler, whyche is called a Philarche, being as it were a head baylyffe. Out of euery one of these families or fermes commeth euerye yeare into the citie. xx. [twenty] perfones whiche haue continewed. ij. yeres before in the countrey. In their place so many freshe be sent thether oute of the citie, whoe, of them that haue bene there a yeare all readye, and be therefore expert and conninge in husbandry, shalbe instructed and taughte. And they the nexte yeare shall teache other. This order is vsed for feare that either skarsenes of victualles, or some other like incommoditie should chaunce, throughe lacke of knowledge: yf they should be altogether newe, and freshe, and vnexperte in husbandrie. This maner and fassion of yearelye chaunginge and renewinge the occupiers of husbandrye, though it be solempne and customablye vsed, to th[e] intent that no man shall be constryed againste his wil to contynewe longe in that harde and sharpe kynde of lyfe, yet manye of them haue suche a pleasure and delyte in husbandrye, that they obteyne a longer space of yeares. These husbandmen plowe and til the ground, and breede vp cattel, and prouide and make ready woode, whyche they carrye to the citie either by lande, or by water, as they maye moſte conueniently. They brynge vp a greate multitude of pulleyne, and that by a meruaylouse policie. For the hennesdooe not sytte vpon the egges: but by keepynge them in a certayne equall heate they brynge lyfe into them, and hatche them. The chykens, affone as they be come oute of the shel, follow men and women in steade of the hennes. They brynge vp verye fewe horses: nor none, but verye scarce ones: and that for none other vse or purpose, but onely to

The dueties of men of husbandrye.

A strange fassion in hatchinge and bringing vp of pulleyne.

The vse of horses.

exercyse their youthe in rydyng and feates of armes.

The vse of
Oxen.

For oxen be put to all the labour of plow-
yng and drawinge. Whiche they graunte
to be not so good as horses at a sodeyne brunte, and
(as we faye) at a deade lifte, but yet they holde opinion,
that oxen wil abide and suffre muche more labour,
payne and hardnes, then horses wil. And they thinke
that oxen be not in daunger and subiect vnto so many
diseases, and that they be kepte and mainteined with
muche lesse coste and charge: and finallye that they be
good for meate, when they be past labour. They sowe

Bread and drink.

corne onelye for breade. For their drinke
is eyther wyne made of grapes, or els of
apples, or peares, or els it is cleare water. And
many times meathe made of honey or licoureffe
iodde[n] in water, for thereof they haue great store. And
though they knowe certeynlie (for they knowe it per-
fectly in dede) how muche vitales the citie wyth the
whole countreye or shiere rounde aboute it doeth

A great discre-
tion in sowing
of corne.

spende: Yet they sowe muche more corne,
and bryed vp muche more cattell, then
ferueth for their owne vse, partyng the ouer
plus among their borderers. What soeuer necessarie
thinges be lacking in the countrey, all suche stufte they
fetch out of the citie: where without any exchange
they easelye obteyne it of the magistrates of the citie.

For euery moneth manie of them go into the citie on
the holye daye. When their haruest day draweth
neare, and is at hande, then the Philarches, which
be the head officers and bailifes of husbandrie, send
worde to the magistrates of the citie what
M Mutual helpe
Mutual helpe
quickly dispat-
cheth.

numbre of haruest men is nedefull to
be sent to them oute of the citie. The
whiche companie of haruest men
beynge readye at the daye
appoynted, almost in one
fayre daye dispacheth
all the haruest
woorke.

‘ , ’

Of the cities and namely of Amaurote.



AS for their cities, who so knoweth one of them, knoweth them all : they be al so like one to an other, as farfurthe as the nature of the place permitteth. I will describe therefore to you one or other of them, for it skileth not greatly which : but which rather then Amaurote? Of them all this is the worthiest and of most dignitie. For the residue knowledge it for the head citie, because there is the counsell house. Nor to me anye of them all is better beloued, as wherein I liued fise whole yeares together. The citie of Amaurote standeth vpon the side of a lowe hill in fashyon almost foure square. For the breadth of it beginneth a litle beneth the toppe of the hill, and still continueth by ye space of two miles, vntill it come to the ryuer of Anyder. The length of it, which lieth by the ryuers syde, is sumwhat more. The riuer of Anyder riseth four and twentie myles aboute Amaurote out of a little springe. But beyng increased by other smale riuers and broukes that runne into it, and amonge other two sumwhat bygge ons, before the citie it is half a mile broade, and farther broader. And fortie myles beyond the citie it falleth into the Ocean sea. By all that space that liethe betwene the sea and the citie, and certen myles also aboute the citie the water ebbeth and floweth fixe houres together with a swift tide. When the sea floweth in, for the length of thirtie miles it filleth all the Anyder with salte water, and driueth backe the freshe water of the ryuer. And sumwhat further it chaungeth the swetenes of the freshe water with saltnes. But a litle beyonde that the riuer waxeth swete, and

The descrip-
tion of Amau-
rote the chiefe
Citie in Uto-
pia.

The descrip-
tion of the riuer
of Anyder.

The verie like
in England in
the riuer of
Thamys.

runneth foreby the citie freshe and pleasaunt. And when the sea ebbeth, and goeth backe againe, the freshe water foloweth it almooste euen to the verie sal into the sea. Ther goeth a bridge ouer the riuier made not of piles or of timber, but of stonewarke with gorgious and substancial arches at that part of the citie that is farthest from the sea: to the intent that shippes maye passe alonge forbie all the side of the citie without let. They haue also an other riuier which in dede is not verie great. But it runneth gentely and pleasauntly. For it riseth euen oute of the same hill that the citie standeth vpon, and runneth downe a slope through the middes of the citie into Anyder. And because it riseth a litle withoute the citie, the Amaurotians haue inclosed the head springe of it, with stronge fences and bulwarkes, and so haue ioyned it to the citie. This is done to the intende that the water shoulde not be stopped nor turned away, or poysoned, if their enemies should chaunce to come vpon them. From thence the water is deriued and conueied downe in cannels of bricke diuers wayes into the lower partes of the citie. Where that cannot be done, by reason that the place wyll not suffer it, there they gather ye raine water in great cisternes, whiche doeth them as good seruice. The citie is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrets and bulwarkes. A drie dicke, but deape, and brode, and ouergrowen with bushes, briers, and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the city. To the fourth side the riuier it selfe serueth for a ditche. The stretes be appointed and set furth very commodious and handsome, both for carriage, and also againste the windes. The houses be of faire and gorgious building, and on the strete side they stande ioyned together in a long rowe through the whole streate without any partition or separation. The stretes be twentie foote brode. On the backe side of

Herein also
doeth London
agre with A-
maurote.

The vse of
freshe water.

The defence of
towne walles.

Stretes.

Buildinges and
houses.

the houfes through the whole length of the ftreete, lye large gardens inclofed rounde aboute wyth the backe part of the ftreetes.

To euery dwelling house a garden platte adioynge.

Euerye houfe hathe two doores, one into the ftreete, and a pofterne doore on the backfyde into the garden. Thefe doores be made with two leaues, neuer locked nor bolted, fo eafie to be opened, that they wil followe the leaft drawing of a fynger, and fhutte againe alone. Whofo will, may go in, for there is nothinge within the houfes that is priuate, or anie mans owne. And euery tenth yeare they chaunge their houfes by lot.

This geere smelleth of Plato his communitie.

They fet great store by their gardeins. In them they haue vineyardes, all maner of fruite, herbes, and flowres, fo pleafaunt, fo well furnished, and fo fynely kepte, that I neuer fawe thyng more frutefull, nor better trimmed in anye place.

Their studie and deligence herein commeth not onely of pleasure, but alfo of a certen strife and contention that is betwene flete

The commodie of garders is commended also of Vergile.

and ftrete, concerning the trimming, husbanding, and furnifhing of their gardens: euerye man for his owne parte. And verelye you fhall not lightelye finde in all the citie anye thinge, that is more commodious, eyther for the profite of the Citizens, or for pleasure. And therefore it maye feme that the firft founder of the citie mynded nothing fo much, as thefe gardens. For they faye that kinge Utopus him felfe, euen at the firft beginning appointed, and drewe furth the platte fourme of the citie into this fafhion and figure that it hath nowe, but the gallant garnifhing, and the beautifull fettinge furth of it, wherunto he fawe that one mannes age would not suffice: that he left to his pofteritie. For their cronicles, whiche they kepe written with all deligente circumfpection, conteynge the hiftorie of. M. vii. C. lx. [one thoufand feven hundred and fixty] yeares, euen from the firfte conquest of the Ilande, recorde and witneffe that the houfes in the beginning were very low, and like homely cotages or poore sheppard houfes, made at all aduen-

tures of euerye rude pece of tymber, that came firſte to hande, with mudde walles, and ridged rooffes, thatched ouer with ſtrawe. But nowe the houſes be curiouſlye buylded after a gorgious and gallante forte, with three ſtories one ouer another. The outſides of the walles be made either of harde flynte, or of plaſter, or els of bricke, and the inner fydes be well ſtrengthened with tymber work. The roofes be plaine and flat, couered with a certen kinde of plaſter that is of no coſte, and yet ſo tempered that no fyre can hurt or periſhe it, and withſtandeth the violence of the wether better then any leade. They kepe the winde oute of their windowes with glaſſe, for it is ther much vſed, and ſomhere alſo with fine linnen cloth dipped in oyle or ambre, and that for two commodities.

Glazed or can-
uased win-
dowes.

For by thys meanes more
lighte commeth in, and
the winde is better
kepte oute.

¶ Of the magiſtrates.



A tranibore in
the Utopiane
tonge ſignifieth
a head or chief
peere.

A maruelous
ſtraunge faſſi-
on in chuſinge
magiſtrates.

Verye thirtie families or fermes, chueſe them yerely an officer, which in their olde language is called the Syphograunte, and by a newer name the Philarche. Euery ten Syphograuntes, with al their thirtie families be vnder an officer which was ones called the Tranibore, nowe the chiefe Philarche. Moreouer as concerninge the election of the Prince, all the Syphograuntes, which be in number. 200. firſt be ſworne to chueſe, him whom they thinke mooſte mete and expediente. Then by a ſecrete election, they name prince one of thoſe. iiij. whome the people before named vnto them. For oute of the. iiij. quarters of the citie there be. iiij choſen, oute of

euery quarter one, to stande for the election : Whiche be put vp to the counsell. The princes office continueth all his life tyme, onles he be depofed or put downe for fufpition of tirannie. They chuefe the Tranibores yearly, but lightlie they chaunge them not. All the other officers be but for one yeare. The Tranibores euerye thyrde daye, and fometimes, yf nede be, oftener come into the counsell houfe with the prince. Their counsell is concerninge the common wealthe. If there be any controuerfies amonge the commoners, whiche be verye fewe, they difpatch and ende them by and by. They take euer. ij. Siphograuntes to them in counfel, and eueri dai a new coupel. And it is prouided, that nothinge touchinge the common wealthe fhall be confirmed and ratified, onleffe it haue bene reasoned of and debated thre daies in the counsell, before it be decreed. It is deathe to haue anye confultation for the common wealthe oute of the counsell, or the place of the common election. This statute, they faye, was made to the entente, that the prince and Tranibores might not eafilye confpire together to opprefse the people by tyrannie, and to chaunge the ftate of the weale publik. Therefore matters of great weight and importance be broughte to the election houfe of the Siphograuntes, which open the matter to their families. And afterwarde, when they haue confulted amonge themfelues, they fhew their deuife to the counsell. Somtime the matter is broughte before the counfel of the whole Ilande. Furthermore this cuftome alfo the counfel vfeth, to difpute or reason of no matter the fame daye that it is firfte propofed or put furthe, but to defferre it to the nexte fyttinge of the counsell. Because that no man when he hath rashely there fpoken that commeth to his tonges ende, fhall then afterwarde rather ftudye for

Tyranny in a wel ordered weale publique vterlie to be abhorred.

Sutes and controuerfies betwene partie and partie furthwith to be ended which now a daies of a set purpose be vnreasonably delaied.

Against hafte and rash decrees or statutes.

A cuftome worthy to be vfed these daies in our counfels and parliaments.

reasons wherewith to defende and mainteine his first folish sentence, than for the commoditie of ye common wealth: as one rather willing the harme or hindraunce of the weale publike then any losse or diminution of his owne existimation. And as one that would be ashamed (which is a very folishe shame) to be counted anye thing at the firste ouersene in the matter. Who at the first ought to haue

spoken rather wyfelye,
then hastely, or
rashlye.

¶ Of Sciences, Craftes and Occupations.

Husbandrie or tillage practised of all estates, which now a dayes is reiect vnto a fewe of the basest sort.



Husbandrie is a Science common to them all ingenerall, bothe men and women, wherein they be all experte and cunning. In this they be all instructe euen from their youth: partlie in their scholes with traditions and preceptes, and partlie in the countrey nigh the citie, brought vp as it were in playinge, not onely beholding the vse of it, but by occasion of exercising their bodies practising it also. Besides husbandrie, whiche (as I saide) is common to them all, euerye one of them learneth one or other feueral and particular science, as his owne proper craft. That is most commonly either clothworking in wol or flaxe, or masonrie, or the smithes craft, or the carpenters science. For there is none other occupation that any number to speake of doth vse there. For their garmentes, which throughoute all the Ilande be of one fashion, (fauynge that there is a difference betwene the mans garmente and the womans, betwene the married and the vnmarried) and this one continueth for

Sciences or occupations should be learned for necessities sake, and not for the mayntenaunce of riotous excesse and wanton pleasure.

Similitude in apparrell.

euermore vnchaunged, femely and comelie to the eye, no lette to the mouynge and weldynge of the bodye, also fytte both for wynter and summer: as for these garmentes (I saye) euery familie maketh their owne. But of the other foresaide craftes euerye man learneth one. And not onely the men, but also the women. But the women, as the weaker fort, be put to the easier craftes: as to worke wolle and flaxe. The more laborfome sciences be committed to the men. For the mooste part euery man is broughte vp in his fathers craft. For mooste commonlye they be naturallie therto bente and inclined. But yf a mans minde stande to anye other, he is by adoption put into a familye of that occupation, which he doth most fantasy. Whome not onely his father, but also the magistrates do diligently loke to, that he be put to a discrete and an honest householder. Yea, and if anye person, when he hath learned one craft, be desierous to learne also another, he is likewyse suffred and permitted.

No citizein without a science.

To what occupation eueryone is naturallie inclined that let him learne.

When he hath learned bothe, he occupieth whether he wyll: onelesse the citie haue more neade of the one, then of the other. The chiefe and almooste the onelye offyce of the Syphograuntes is, to see and take hede, that no manne sit idle: but that euerye one applye hys owne craft with earnest diligence. And yet for all that, not to be wearied from earlie in the morninge, to late in the eueninge, with continuall worke, like labouringe and toylinge beastes.

Idel persones to be drinen out of the weale publique.

For this is worfe then the miserable and wretched condition of bondemen. Whiche neuertheles is almooste euerye where the lyfe of workemen and artificers, fauing in Utopia. For they diuidynge the daye and the nyghte into xxiiii. iuste houres, appointe and assigne onelye fixe of those houres to worke before noone, vpon the whiche they go streighte to diner: and after diner, when they haue rested two houres,

A moderation in the labour and toyle of artificers.

then they worke iii. houres and vpon that they go to supper. Aboute eyghte of the cloke in the eueninge (countinge one of the clocke at the firste houre after noone) they go to bedde: eyght houres they geue to slepe. All the voide time, that is betwene the houres of worke, slepe, and meate, that they be suffered to bestowe, euery man as he liketh best him selfe. Not to th[e] intent that they shold mispend this time in riote or slouthfulnes: but beyng then licensed from the laboure of their owne occupations, to bestow the time well and thrifte-lye vpon some other science, as shall please them. For it is a solempne custome there, to haue lectures daylye early in the morning, where to be presente they onely be constrained that be namelye chofen and appoynted to

The studie of good literature. learninge. Howbeit a greate multitude of euery sort of people, both men and women go to heare lectures, some one and some an other, as euerye mans nature is inclined. Yet, this notwithstanding, if any man had rather bestowe this time vpon his owne occupation, (as it chaunceth in manye, whose mindes rise not in the contemplation of any science liberall) he is not letted, nor prohibited, but is also prayed and commended, as profitable to the common

Playing after supper. wealthe. After supper they bestow one houre in playe: in summer in their gardens: in winter in their commen halles: where they dine and suppe. There they exercise themselues in musike, or els in honest and wholsome communication. Dice-
playe, and suche other folishe and pernicious games they know not. But they vse ij. games not much vnlike the chesse. The one is the battell of numbers, wherein one numbre stealeth awaye another. The other is wherin vices

But now a-daies diceplay is the pastime of princes. fyghte with vertues, as it were in battel array, or a set fyld. In the which game is veye properlye shewed, both the striffe and discorde that vices haue amonge themselves, and agayne their vnitye and concorde againste vertues: And also what vices be repugnaunt to what vertues:

Plaies or games also profitable.

with what powre and strength they affaile them openly: by what wiles and subtely they assaulte them secretly: with what helpe and aide the vertues resiste, and ouercome the puiffaunce of the vices: by what craft they frustrate their purposes: and finally by what sleight or meanes the one getteth the victory. But here least you be deceaued, one thing you muste looke more narrowly vpon. For seinge they bestowe but. vi. houres in woorke, perchaunce you maye thinke that the lacke of some necessarye thinges hereof maye enfewe. But this is nothinge so. For that smal time is not only enough but also to muche for the floore and abundaunce of all thinges, that be requisite, either for the necessitie, or commoditie of life. The which thinge you also shall perceauē, if you weye and consider with your selves how great a parte of the people in other contreis lyueth ydle. First almost all women, whyche be the halfe of the whole numbere: or els if the women be somewhere occupied, there most commonly in their steade the men be ydle. Besydes this how greate, and how ydle a companye is there of preystes, and religious men, as they cal them? put thereto al ryche men, speciallye all landed men, which comonlye be called gentilmen, and noble men. Take into this numbere also their seruantes: I meane all that flocke of stoute bragging russe bucklers. Ioyne to them also sturdy and valiaunte beggers, clokinge their idle the coloure of some disease or sickenes. And trulye you shal find them much fewer then you thought, by whose labour all these thinges are wrought, that in mens affaires are now daylye vsed and frequented. Nowe confyder with youre selfe, of these fewe that doe woorke, how fewe be occupied, in necessarye woorkes. For where money beareth all the swinge, there many vayne and superfluous occupations must nedes be vsed, to serue only for ryotous superfluite, and vnhonest

The kyndes
and sortes of
ydle people.

Women.

Priestes and
religious men.
Riche men and
landed men.

Seruyngmen.

lyfe vnder

Sturdy and
valiaunt
beggars.

Wonderfull
wittely spoken.

pleasure. For the same multitude that now is occupied in work, if they were deuided into so few occupations as the necessary use of nature requyareth: in so greate plentye of things as then our necessity would enſue, doubtles the prices wolde be to lytle for the artifcyers to maynteyne their liuinges. But yf all these that be nowe buſied about vnprofitable occupations, with all the whole flocke of them that lyue ydellye and slouthfullye, whyche consume and waste euerye one of them more of these things that come by other mens labour, then. ij. of the workemen themselves doo: yf all these (I saye) were sette to profytable occupatyons: you easelye perceauē howe lytle tyme would be enoughe, yea and to muche to stoore vs with all things that maye be requisite either for necessitie, or for commoditye, yea or for pleasure, so that the same pleasure be trewe and natural. And this in Utopia the thinge it selfe makethe manifeste and playne. For there in all the citye, with the whole contreye, or shiere adioyning to it scafelye. 500. persons of al ye whole numbere of men and women, that be neither to olde, nor to weake to worke, be licensed and discharged from labour. Amonge them be the Siphograuntes (whoe though they be by the lawes exempte and priuiledged from labour) yet they exempte not themselves: to the intent that they maye rather by their example prouoke other to worke. The same vacation from labour do they also enioye, to whome the people perswaded by the commendation of the priestes, and secrete election of the Siphograuntes, haue geuen a perpetual licence from labour to learninge. But if any one of them proue not accordinge to the expectation and hope of him conceaued, he is forthwith plucked backe to the company of artificers. And contrarye wise, often it chaunceth that a handicraftes man doth so earnestly bestowe his vacante and spare houres in learninge, and throughe diligence so profyteth therein, that he is taken from his handy occupation, and promoted to the company of the learned. Oute of this

Not asmuche
as the magi-
strates liue
ydelly.

ordre of the learned be chosen ambassadours, priestes, Tranibores, and finallye the prince him selfe. Whome they in their olde tongue call Barzanes, and by a newer name, Adamus. The residue of the people being neither ydle, nor yet occupied about vnprofitable exercises, it may be easely iudged in how fewe houres how much good worke by them may be doone and dispatched, towards those things yat I haue spoken of. This commodity they haue also aboute other, yat in the most part of necessarye occupations they neede not so much work, as other nations doe. For first of all ye buildinge or repayinge of houses asketh euerye where so manye mens continual labour, bicause yat the vnthrifty heire suffereth ye houses that his father buylded in contyneuance of tyme to fall in decay. So that which he myghte haue vpholden wyth lytle coste, hys successoure is constrained to buylde it agayne a newe, to his great charge. Yea manye tymes also the howse that floode one man in muche moneye, another is of so nyce and soo delicate a mynde, that he setteth nothinge by it. And it beyng neglected, and therefore shortelye fallynge into ruine, he buyldeth vpon another in an other place with no lesse coste and charge. But amonge the Utopians, where all things be sett in a good ordre, and the common wealthe in a good steye, it very feldom chaunceth, that they cheuse a newe plotte to buylde an house vpon. And they doo not only finde speedy and quicke remedies for present faultes: but also preuent them that be like to fall. And by this meanes their houses continewe and laste very longe with litle labour and smal reparations: in so much that this kind of workmen somtimes haue almost nothinge to doo. But that they be commaunded to hewe timber at home, and to square and trimme vp stones, to the intente that if anye worke chaunce, it may the speedelier rise. Now Syr in their apparell, marke (I praye you) howe few workmen they neede. Fyrste of al, whyles they be at

Onely learned men called to offices.

How to auoyd excessiue cost in building.

How to lessen the charge in apparel.

woorke, they be couered homely with leather or skines, that will last. vii. yeares. When they go furthe abrode they caste vpon them a cloke, whych hydeth the other homelye apparel. These clookes through out the whole Iland be all of one coloure, and that is the natural coloure of the wul. They therefore do not only spend much lesse wullen clothe then is spent in other contreis, but also the same standeth them in muche lesse coste. But linnen clothe is made with lesse labour, and is therefore hadde more in vse. But in linnen cloth onely whytenesse, in wullen only clenlynes is regarded. As for the smalnesse or finenesse of ye threde, that is no thinge passed for. And this is the cause wherfore in other places. iiii. or v clothe gownes of dyuers coloures, and as manye silke cootes be not enoughe for one man. Yea and yf he be of the delicate and nyse forte. x. [ten] be to fewe: whereas there one garmente wyl serue a man mooste commenlye. ij. yeares. For whie shoulde he desyre moo? seinge yf he had them, he should not be the better hapte or couered from colde, neither in his apparel anye whitte the comlyer. Wherefore, seinge they be all exercysed in profitable occupations, and that fewe artificers in the same craftes be sufficiente, this is the cause that plentye of all thinges beinge among them, they doo sometymes bringe forthe an innumerable companye of people to amend the hyghe wayes, yf anye be broken. Many times also, when they haue no suche woorke to be occupied aboute, an open proclamation is made, that they shall bestowe fewer houres in worke. For the magistrates doe not exercise their citizens againste their willes in vnneadefull laboures. For whie in the institution of that weale publique, this ende is onely and chiefly pretended and mynded, that what time maye possibly be spared from the necessarye ocupacions and affayres of the commen wealth, all yat the citizeins shoulde withdrawe from the bodely seruice to the free libertye of the minde, and garnishinge of the same. For herein they suppothe the felicitye of this liffe to consiste.

¶ Of theire liuinge and mutual conuersation together.



BVt nowe wil I declare how the citizens vse them felves one towards another: what familiar occupieng and enterteynement, there is amonge the people, and what fassion they vse in the distribution of euery thing. Firste the city consisteth of families, the families most commonlye be made of kinredes. For the women, when they be maryed at a lawefull age, they goo into theire husbandes houfes. But the male children, with al the whole male offpringe continewe still in their owne family and be gouerned of the eldest and auncientest father, onles he dote for age: for then the next to him in age, is placed in his rowme. But to The nombre of citizens. th[e] intentye prescript number of the citezens shoulde neither decrease, nor aboue measure increase, it is ordeined that no familie which in euery citie be. vi. thousand in the whole, besydes them of the contrey, shall at ones haue fewer children of the age of. xiiii. yeares or there about then. x. or mo then. xvi. for of children vnder this age no nombre can be prescribed or appointed. This measure or nombre is easely obserued and kept, by putting them that in fuller families be aboue the number into families of smaler increase. But if chaunce be that in ye whole citie the floore increase aboue the iust number, therewith they fil vp ye lacke of other cities. But if so be yat the multitude throughout the whole Ilande passe and excede the dewe number, then they chuefe out of euery citie certein citezens, and build vp a towne vnder their owne lawes in the next land where the inhabitauntes haue muche waste and vnoccupied ground, receauing also of the same countrey people to them, if they wil ioyne and dwel with them. They thus ioyning

and dwelling together do easelye agre in one fassion of liuing, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bringe the matter about by their lawes, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is nowe sufficiente and fruteful enoughe for them both. But if the inhabit-auntes of that lande wyl not dwell with them to be ordered by their lawes, then they dryue them out of those boundes which they haue limited, and apointed out for them selues. And if they resiste and rebel, then they make warre agaynst them. For they counte this the moste iuste cause of warre, when anye people hold-ethe a piece of grounde voyde and vacaunt to no good nor profitable vse, kepyng other from the vse and possession of it, whiche notwithstanding by the lawe of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieued. If anye chaunce do so muche diminishe the number of any of their cities, that it cannot be fylled vp agayne, without the diminishynge of the iust numbere of the other cyties (whiche they say chaunced but twyse synce the beginnyng of the lande throughe a greate pestilente plage) then they fulfyll and make vp the numbere with cytezens fetched out of their owne forreyne townes, for they had rather suffer their forreyne townes to decaye and peryshe, then anye cytie of their owne Ilande to be diminished. But nowe agayne to the conuersation of

So might we
well be dischar-
ged and eased
of the ydle com-
pany of ser-
uynghmen.

the cytezens amonge themselves. The eldeste (as I sayde) rulethe the familie. The wyfes bee ministers to their husbandes, the children to their parentes, and to bee shorte the yonger to their elders. Euery Cytie is deuided into foure equall partes or quarters. In the myddes of euery quarter there is a market place of all maner of thinges. Thether the workes of euery familie be brought into certeyne houfes. And euery kynde of thing is layde vp feuerall in bernes or store houfes. From hence the father of euery familie, or euery houfholder fetchethe whatfoeuer he and his haue neade of, and carieth it away with him without money,

without exchange, without any gage, pawne, or pledge. For whye shoulde any thing be denyed vnto him? seyng there is abundaunce of all thinges, and that it is not to bee feared, lest anye man wyll aske more then he needeth. For whie should it be thoughte that that man woulde aske more then anough, which is fewer neuer to lacke? Certeynely in all kyndes of lyuing creatures either feare of lacke dothe cause couetousnes and rauyne, or in man only pryde, which counteth it a glorious thinge to passe and excel other in the superfluous and vayne ostentation of thinges. The whyche kynde of vice amonge the Utopians can haue no place. Nexte to the market places that I spake of, stande meate markettes: whether be brought not only all fortes of herbes, and the fruites of trees, with breade, but also fishe, and all maner of. iiii. footed beastes, and wilde foule that be mans meate. But first the fylthynes and ordure therof is clene washed awaye in the renninge ryuer without the cytie in places appoynted mete for the same purpose. From thence the beastes be brought in kylled, and cleane wasshed by the handes of their bondemen For they permitte not their frie citezens to accustomme them selves to the killing of beastes, through the vse whereof they thinke, clemencye the gentleste affection of oure nature by lytle and lytle to decaye and peryshe. Neither they suffer anye thinge that is fylthye, lothesom, or vnclenlye, to be broughte into the cytie, least the ayre by the stench therof infected and corrupte, shoulde cause pestilente diseases. Moreouer euerye strete hath certeyne great large halles sett in equal distaunce one from another, euerye one knowen by a feuerall name. In these halles dwell the Syphograutes. And to euerye one of the same halles be apoynted. xxx. [thirty] families, on either side. xv [fifteen] The stewardes of euerye halle at a certayne houre come in to the meate markettes, where they receyue meate accordinge to the number of their halles.

The cause of
coueteus and
extortion.

Of the slaugh-
ter of beastes
we haue lear-
ned manslaugh-
ter.

Fylth and or-
dure bring the
infection of pe-
stilence into
Cyties.

Care, diligence
and attendance
about the sicke.

But first and chieflie of all respect is had to the sycke, that be cured in the hospitalles. For in the circuite of the citie, a litle without ye walles, they haue. iiii. hospitalles, so bigge so wyde, so ample, and so large, that they may seme. iiii. litle townes, which were deuised of yat bignes partely to th[e] intent the sycke, be they neuer so many in numbere, shuld not lye to thronge or strayte, and therefore vneafely, and incommodiously: and partely that they which were taken and holden with contagious diseases, siche as be wonte by infection to crepe from one to an other, myght be layde apart farre from the company of ye residue These hospitalles be so wel appointed, and with al thinges necessary to health so furnished, and more ouer so diligent attendaunce through the continual presence of cunning phisitians is geuen, that though no man be sent thether against his will, yet notwithstandinge there is no sicke persone in al the citie, that had not rather lye there, then at home in his owne house. When the stewart of the sicke hath receiued siche meates as the phisitians haue prescribed, then the beste is equallye deuided among the halles, according to the company of euery one, sauing that there is had a respect to the prince, the byshop, the tranibours, and to ambasiadours and all straungers, if there be any, which be verye fewe and seldome. But they also when they be there, haue certeyne feuerall houses apointed and prepared for them. To these halles at ye set houres of dinner and supper commeth all the whole Siphograuntie or warde, warned by ye noyse of a brafen trumpet: except siche as be sicke in ye hospitalles, or els in their owne houses. Howbeit no man is prohibited or forbid, after the halles be serued, to fetch home meate out of ye market to his own house, For they knowe that no man wyl doe it without a cause reasonable. For thoughe no man be prohibited to dyne at home, yet no man doth it willyngly: because it is counted a pointe of smal honestie. And also it were a follye to

Euery man is
at his libertie
so that nothing
is done by
compulsion.

take the payne to dresse a badde diner at home, when they may be welcome to good and fyne fare so neighe hande at the hall. In this hal al vile seruice, all flauery, and drudgerie, with all labourfome toyle, and base busines is done by bondemen. But the women of euery family by course haue the office and charge of cookerie for fethinge and dresseinge the meate, and orderinge all thinges therto belongng. They sit at three tables or moe, accordinge to the numbere of their company. The men sitte vpon the bench next the wall, and the women againste them on the other side of the table, that yf anye fodeyne euyll should chaunce to them, as many tymes happeneth to women with chylde, they maye rise wythoute trouble or disturbaunce of anye bodie, and go thence into the nurserie. The nurceis sitte feuerall alone with theyr younge suckelinges in a certaine parloure appointed and deputed to the same purpose, neuer withoute fire and cleane water, nor yet without cradels, that when they wyll they maye laye downe the younge infantes, and at theyr pleasure take them oute of their swathyng clothes, and holde them to the fire, and refreshe them with playe. Euery mother is nource to her owne childe, onles either death, or fycknes be the let. When that chaunceth, the wiues of the Syphograuntes quykelye prouyde a nource. And that is not harde to be done. For they that can doo it, profer themselues to no seruice so gladlye as to that. Because that there thys kinde of pitie is muche prayfed: and the chylde that is nourished, euer after taketh his nource for his owne naturall mother. Also amonge the nourceis, fytted all the children that be vnder the age of v. yeares. All the other chylde of bothe kyndes, aswell boyes as girles, that be vnder the age of maryage, do eyther serue at the tables, or els if they be to yonge therto, yet they stand by with maruailous silence. That whiche is geuen to them from the table they eate, and other feuerall

Women bothe dresse and serue the meate.

Nourceis.

Nothing soner prouoketh men to well doying then praise and commendation.

The education of yonge children.

dynner tyme they haue none. The Siphograunte and his wife fitte in the myddes of the high table, forasmuch as that is counted the honorablest place, and because from thence all the whole companie is in their sight. For that table standeth ouer wharte the ouer ende of the hall. To them be ioyned two of the auncientest and eldest. For at euerye table they sit foure at a meesse. But yf there be a church standing in yat Syphograuntie or warde, then the priest and his wife sitteth with the Siphograunt, as chiefe in the company. On both fydes of them sit yonge men, and nexte vnto them againe olde men. And thus through out all the house equall of age be fette together, and yet be mixt and matched with vnequal ages. This, they say, was ordeyned, to the intent that the sage grautie and reuerence of the elders should kepe the yongers from wanton licence of wordes and behaioure. Forasmuch as nothyng can be so secretly spoken or done at the table, but either they that sit on the one side or on the other muste nedes perceaue it. The dishes be not fet down in order from the first place but all the olde men (whose places be marked with some speciall token to be knowen) be first serued of their meate, and then the residue equally. The olde men deuide their, deinties as they think best to the yonger on eche syde of them.

Thus the elders be not defrauded of their dewe honoure, and neuerthelesse equall commoditie commeth to euery one. They begin euerye dinner and supper of redinge sumthing yat perteneth to good maners and vertue. But it is shorte, because no man shalbe greued therwith. Hereof th[e] elders take occasion of honest communication, but neither sadde nor vnpleasaunt. Howbeit they do not spende all the whole dinertime themselues with longe and tedious talkes: but they gladly heare also the yonge men: yea, and purpofelye prouoke them to talke, to th[e] intent that they may haue

The yong mix-
ed with their
elders.

Olde men re-
garded and re-
uerenced.

This nowe
a daies is ob-
serued in oure
vniuersities.

Talke at the
table.

a profe of eüery mans wit, and towardnes, or disposition to vertue, which commonlie in the libertie of feasting doth shew and vtter it self. Their diners be verie short: but their suppers be sumwhat longer, because that after dyner foloweth labour, after supper slepe and natural reste, whiche they thinke to be of more strength and efficacie to wholsome and healthfull digestion. No supper is passed without musicke. Nor their bankettes lacke no conceytes nor ionketes. They burne swete gummes and spices or perfumes, and smellles, and sprinckle aboute swete oyntementes and waters, yea, they leaue nothing vndone that maketh for the cheringe of the companye. For they be muche enclined to this opinion: to thinke no kinde of pleasure forbydden, whereof commeth no harme. Thus therfore and after this fort they liue together in the citie, but in the cuntry they that dwell alone farre from any neighbour, do dyne and suppe at home in their owne houfes. For no familie there lacketh any kinde of victualles, as from whom commeth all that the citezens eate and lyue by.

This is repugnant to the opinion of our phisitions.

Musick at the table.

Pleasure without harme not discommendable.

I Of their iourneyng or
trauayling abroad, with diuers
other matters cunninglye rea-
soned, and wyttilye
Discussed.



BVt if any be desierous to visite either theyr frendes dwelling in an other citie, or to see the place it selfe: they easelie obteyne licence of their Siphograuntes and Trani-bores, onlesse there be some profitable let. No man goeth out alone but a companie is sente furth together with their princes letters, which do testifie that they haue licence to go that iourney, and prescribeth also the day of their retourne. They haue a wageyn geuen them, with a common bondman, which driueth the oxen, and taketh charge of them. But onles they haue women in their companie, they sende home the wageyn againe, as an impediment and a let. And thoughe they carye nothyng furth with them, yet in all their iorney they lack nothing. For wherfoeuer they come, they be at home. If they tary in a place longer then one daye, than there euery one of them falleth to his owne occupation, and be very gentilly entertained of the workemen and companies of the same craftes. If any man of his owne heade and without leaue, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitiue or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharply punished. If he be taken in that fault againe, he is punished with bondage. If anye be desirous to walke abroad into the feldes, or into the countrey yat belongeth to the same citie that he dwelleth in, obtaininge the good wil of his father, and the consente of his wife, he is not prohibited. But into what part of ye contrei foeuer he commeth he hath no

meat geuen him vntil he haue wrought out his fore-
 nones taske, or dispatched so muche work, as there is
 wont to be wrought before supper. Obseruing this
 law and condition, he may go whether he wil within
 the boundes of his own citie. For he shalbe no les
 profitable to ye citie, then if he were within it. Now
 you se how litle liberte they haue to loiter: howe they
 can haue no cloke or pretence to ydlenes.

There be neither winetauernes, nor ale
 houses, nor stewes, nor anye occasion of
 vice or wickednes, no lurking corners,
 no places of wycked counsels or vnlawfull affembles.
 But they be in the presente fighte, and vnder the eies
 of euery man. So that of necessitie they must either
 apply their accustomed labours, or els recreate them-
 selues with honest and laudable pastimes.

O holy common
 wealth, and of
 Christians to
 be folowed.

This fashon and trade of life, being vsed amonge
 the people, it cannot be chosē, but that they muste of
 necessitie haue store and plentie of all thinges. And
 seyng they be all therof parteners equallie,
 therefore can no man there be poore or
 nedie. In the counsell of Amaurot, whe-
 ther, as I said, euery citie sendeth three
 men a pece yearly, affone as it is perfectly knowne of
 what thinges there is in euery place plentie, and againe
 what thinges be skant in any place: incontinent the
 lacke of the one is performed and filled vp with the
 aboundaunce of the other. And this they do frely
 without anye benefite, taking nothinge againe of them,
 to whom ye thinges is giuen, but those cities that haue
 geuen of their store to any other citie that lacketh, re-
 quiring nothinge againe of ye same citie, do take suche
 thinges as they lacke of an other citie, to the which
 they gaue nothinge. So the whole ylande
 is as it were one familie, or housholde. But
 when they haue made sufficient prouision
 of store for themselues (which they thinke
 not done, vntil they haue prouided for two yeres folow-
 inge, because of the vncertentie of the next yeares

Equalitie is
 the cause that
 euery man hath
 enoughe.

A common
 wealthe is no-
 thing elles but
 a great house-
 hold.

proffe) then of those things, wherof they haue abundance, they carie furth into other countreis great

The traffique
and marchaun-
dise of the Uto-
pians.

plentie : as grayne, honnie, wulle, flaxe, woode, madder, purple died felles, waxe, tallowe, lether, and lyuinge beastes. And

the seuenth parte of all these thynges they geue franckelye and frelie to the pore of that countrey.

The residewe they sell at a reasonable and meane price. By this trade of traffique or marchaundise, they bring into their own contrey, not only great plenty of golde and siluer, but also all fuche thynges as they lacke at home, whiche is almoste nothinge but Iron. And by reason they haue longe vied this trade, nowe they haue more aboundaunce of these things, then anye man wyll beleue. Nowe therfore they care not whether they sell for readye money, or els vpon truste to be payed at a daye, and to haue the mooste parte in debtes.

In all things
and aboute all
things to their
communitie they
haue an eye.

But in so doyng they neuer followe the credence of priuat men: but the asfuraunce or warrauntise of the whole citie, by instrumentes and writinges made in that behalfe

accordingly. When the daye of paiement is come and expired, the citie gathereth vp the debte of the priuate debtoures, and putteth it into the common boxe, and so longe hath the vse and profite of it, vntill the Vtopians their creditours demaunde it. The mooste parte

By what pollicie
money may
be in lesse estimation.

of it they neuer aske. For that thyng whiche is to them no profite to take it from other, to whom it is profitable: they thinke it no righte nor conscience. But

if the case so stand, that they must lende part of that money to an other people, then they require theyr debte: or when they haue warre. For the whiche purpose onelye they kepe at home all the treasure, whiche they haue, to be holpen and focoured by it either in extreame ieopardyes, or in suddeine daungers. But especiallye and chiefelie to hiere therewith, and that for vnreasonable greate wayges, straunge soldiours. For they hadde rather put straungers in

ieopardie, then theyr owne countreyemen: knowynge that for money ynoughe, their enemyes themfelues many times may be boughte or solde, or elles throughe treason be sette togethers by the eares amonge themfelues. For this cause they kepe an inestimable treasure. But yet not as a treasure: but so they haue it, and vse it, as in good faythe I am ashamed to shewe: fearinge that my woordes shall not be beleued. And this I haue more cause to feare, for that I knowe howe difficultlie and hardelye I myselfe would haue beleued an other man tellinge the same, if I hadde not presentlye sene it with mine owne eyes.

It is better either with money or by pollicie to avoyde warre, then with muche losse of mans blood to fight.

O fine wytte.

For it muste needes be, that howe farre a thyng is dissonaunt and disagreing from the guise and trade of the hearers, so farre shall it be out of their belefe. Howebeit, a wise and indifferent estimator of thynges, will not greatlye marueill perchance, seyng all theyr other lawes and customes do so muche differre from oures, yf the vse also of gold and syluer amonge them be applied, rather to their owne fashyons, than to oures. I meane in that they occupie not money themfelues, but kepe it for that chaunce, whiche as it maye happen, so it maye be, that it shall neuer come to passe. In the meane time golde and syluer, whereof money is made, they do so vse, as none of them doethe more esteeme it, then the verye nature of the thing deserueth. And then who doeth not playnelye see howe farre it is vnder Iron: as without the whiche men can no better lyue then without fiere and water. Whereas to golde and siluer nature hath geuen no vse, that we may not well lacke: if that the follye of men hadde not sette it in higher estimation for the rarenesse sake. But of the contrarie parte, nature as a mooste tender and louynge mother, hath placed the beste and mooste necessarie thynges open abroade: as the ayere, the water, and the yearth it selfe. And hath remoued and hyd far-

Golde worse then yron as touchynge the necessarie vse thereof.

theft from vs vayne and vnprofitable thinges. Therefore if these metalles amonge them shoulde be faste locked vp in some tower, it might be suspected, that the prince and the counsell (as the people is euer foolishhelie ymagininge) intended by some subtiltie to deceaue the commons, and to take some profite of it to themselues. Furthermore if they shold make therof plate and such other finelie and cunninglie wroughte stufte: if at anye time they should haue occasion to breake it: and melte it againe, therewith to paye their souldiers wages, they see and perceaue verye well, that men woulde be lothe to parte from those thinges, that they ones begonne to haue pleasure and delite in. To remedie all this they haue founde oute a meanes, whiche, as it is agreable to all their other lawes and customes, so it is from ours, where golde is so much fet by, and so diligently kept, very farre discripant and repugnant: and therefore vncredible, but onelye to them that be wise. For where as they eate and drinke in earther and glasse vesselles, whiche in dede be curiouslye and properlye made, and yet be of very small value:

O wonderfull
contumelie of
golde.

of golde and syluer they make commonly chaumber pottes, and other vesselles, that serue for mooste vile vses, not onely in their common halles, but in euery mans priuate house. Furthermore

Golde the re-
prochful badge
of infamed per-
sons.

of the same mettalles they make greate chaines, fetters, and gieues wherin the[y] tie their bondmen. Finally whosoouer for anye offense be infamed, by their eares hange rynges of golde: vpon their fyngers they wear rynges of golde, and aboute their neckes chaines of golde: and in conclusion their heades be tied aboute with gold. Thus by al meanes possible thei procure to haue golde and siluer among them in reproche and infamie. And these mettalles, which other nations do as greuouly and sorowfullye forgo, as in a manner their owne liues: if they should altogether at ones be taken from the Utopians, no man there would thinke that he had lost the worth of one farthing. They ga-

ther also pearles by the sea side, and Diamondes and carbuncles vpon certen rockes, and yet they feke not for them: but by chaunce finding them, they cut and polifh them. And therwith thei deck their yonge infauntes. Whiche like as in the first yeres of their childhod, they make muche and be fonde and proude of fuch ornamentes, fo when they be a litle more growen in yeares and discretion, perceiuing that none but children do weare fuch toies and trifels: they lay them awaye euen of their owne fhamefasteneffe, wythoute anye byddyng of their parentes: euen as oure chylidren, when they waxe bygge, doo cafte awaye nuttes, brouches, and puppettes. Therefore thefe lawes and customes, whiche be fo farre differente from al other nations, howe diuers fantasies alto and myndes they doo caufe, dydde I neuer fo playnelie perceauē, as in the Ambafiadours of the Anemolians.

Gemmes and
precious ston-
es, toyes for
yonge children
to playe with-
all.

These Ambassadours came to Amaurote while I was there. And because they came to entreate of great and weightie matters, those three citizens a pece oute of euerie citie were comen thether before them. But all the Ambassadours of the nexte countreis, whiche had bene there before, and knewe the fashions and maners of the Utopians, amonge whom they perceaued no honoure geuen to sumptuous apparell, filkes to be contemned, golde also to be infamed and reprochful, were wont to come thether in verie homelye and simple araie. But the Anemolians because they dwell farre thence, and had very litle a[c]quaintaunce with them: hearinge that they were all apparelled a like, and that verie rudely and homely: thinkinge them not to haue the thinges whiche they did not weare: being therefore more proude, then wise: determyned in the gorgiousnes of their apparel to represente verie goddes, and wyth the brighte shyninge and glisteringe of their gay clothing to dasell the eyes of the filie poore Utopians. So there came in. iii. Ambassadours with. c. [an hundred] seruantes all apparelled in

A very plea-
saunt tale.

changeable colours: the moste of them in filkes: the Ambassadours themselves (for at home in their owne countrey they were noble men) in cloth of gold, with great cheines of gold, with golde hanginge at their eares, with gold ringes upon their fingers, with brouches and aglettes of gold vpon their cappes, which glistered ful of peerles and precious stones: to be short trimmed, and adourned with al those thinges, which among the Utopians were either the punishment of bondmen, or the reproche of infamed persones, or elles trifels for yonge children to playe withal. Therefore it wolde haue done a man good at his harte to haue sene howe proudelye they displeyed their pecockes sethers, howe muche they made of their paynted sheathes, and howe loftely they set forth and aduanced them selves, when they compared their gallaunte apparrell with the poore rayment of the Utopians. For al the people were swarmed forth into the stretes. And on the other side it was no lesse pleasure to consider howe muche they were deceaued, and howe farre they misied of their purpose being contrary wayes taken, then they thought they should haue bene. For to the eyes of all the Utopians, excepte very fewe, which had bene in other countreys for some resonable cause, al that gorgeoufnes of apparel seemed shamefull and reprocheful. In so muche that they most reuerently saluted the vilest and most abiect of them for lordes: passing ouer the Ambassadours themselves without any honour: iudging them by their wearing of golden cheynes to be bondmen. Yea you shoulde haue sene children also, that had caste away their peerles and pretious stones, when they sawe the like sticking vpon the Ambassadours cappes: digge and pushe their mothers vnder the

O wittie head. fides, sainge thus to them. Loke mother howe great a lubbor doth yet were peerles and precious stoones, as though he were a litel child stil. But the mother, yea and that also in good earnest: peace sone, saithe she: I thinke he be some of the Ambassadours fooles. Some founde faulte at their

golden cheines, as to no vse nor purpose, being so smal and weake, that a bondeman might easely breake them, and agayne so wyde and large, that when it pleased him, he myght cast them of, and runne away at libertye whether he woulde. But when the Ambasadoures hadde bene there a daye or. ii. and sawe so greate abundaunce of gold so lyghtely esteimed, yea in no lesse reproche, then it was with them in honour: and besides that more golde in the cheines and gieues of one fugitiue bondman, then all the costelye ornamentes of them. iii. was worth: they beganne to abate their courage, and for very shame layde away al that goryouse arraye, whereof they were so proud. And specially when they had talked familiarlye with the Utopians, and had learned al their fassions and opinions.

For they marueyle that any men be so folysh, as to haue delite and pleasure in the doubtful glisteringe of a lytil tryffelynge stone, which maye beholde annye of the starres, or elles the sonne it selfe. Or that anye man is so madde, as to count him selfe the nobler for the smaller or fyner threde of wolle, which selfe same wol (be it now in neuer so fyne a sponne threde) a shepe did ones weare: and yet was she all that time no other thing then a shepe. They marueile also that golde, whych of the owne nature is a thinge so vnprofytable, is nowe amonge all people in so hyghe estimation, that man him selfe, by whome, yea and for the vse of whome it is so much set by, is in muche lesse estimation, then the golde it selfe. In so muche that a lumpysh blockehedded churle, and whyche hathe no more wytte

Doubtful he calleth it, either in consideration and respecte of counterfeite stones, or elles he calleth doubtful very littel worthe.

A true saing and a wittie.

then an asse, yea and as ful of noughtynes as of follye, shall haue neuertheles manye wyse and good men in subiectyon and bondage, only for this, bycause he hath a greate heape of golde. Whyche yf it shoulde be taken from hym by anye fortune, or by some subtyll wyle and cautele of the lawe, (whyche no lesse then fortune dothe bothe raise vp the lowe, and plucke

downe the highe) and be geuen to the moſte vile ſlaue and abiect dryuell of all his houſholde, then ſhortely after he ſhal goo into the ſeruice of his ſeruauant, as an augmentation nor ouerplus beſide his money. But they

Howe muche more witte is in the heades of the Utopians then of the common ſorte of chriſtianses.

muche more maruell at and deteſt the madnes of them, whyche to thoſe riche men, in whoſe debte and daunger they be not, do giue almoſt diuine honoures, for none other conſideration, but bicauſe they be riche: and yet knowing them to bee ſuche nigge penny fathers, that they be ſure as longe as they liue, not the worthe of one farthinge of that heape of gold ſhall come to them.

Theſe and ſuch like opinions haue they conceaued, partely by education, beinge brought vp in that common wealth, whoſe lawes and cuſtomes be farre different from theſe kindes of folly, and partely by good litterature and learning. For though there be not many in euery citie, which be exempte and diſcharged of all other laboures, and appointed only to learning, that is to ſaye: ſuche in whome euen from their very childhode they haue perceaued a ſingular towardnes, a fyne witte, and a minde apte to good learning: yet all in their childhode be inſtructe in learninge. And the better parte of the people, bothe men and women throughe oute all their whole lyffe doo beſtowe in learninge thoſe ſpare houres, which we ſayde

The ſtudies and literature amonge the Utopians.

they haue vacante from bodelye laboures. They be taughte learninge in their owne natyue tong. For it is bothe copious in woordes, and alſo pleaſaunte to the eare: and for the vtterance of a mans minde very perfecte and ſure. The moſte parte of all that fyde of the worlde vſeth the ſame langage, ſauinge that amonge the Utopians it is fyneſte and pureſte, and accordinge to the diuerſytye of the countreys it is dyuerſlye alterede. Of all theſe Philoſophers, whoſe names be heare famous in this parte of the worlde to vs knowen, before oure cummyng thether not aſmuch as the fame of annye of

them was cumen amonge them. And yet in Musike, Logike, Arythmetyke, and Geometrye they haue founde oute in a manner all that oure auncient Philosophers haue tawghte. But as they in all thinges be almoste equal to oure olde auncyente clerkes, so oure newe Logiciens in subtyl inuentions haue farre passed and gone beyonde them. For they haue not deuyfed one of all those rules of restrictions, amplifications and suppositions, verye wittelye inuented in the small Logicales, whyche heare oure children in euery place do learne. Furthermore they were neuer yet hable to fynde out the seconde intentions: infomuche that none of them all coulde euer see man himfelse in comen, as they cal him, thoughe he be (as you knowe) bygger than euer was annye gyaunte, yea and poynted to of vs euen wyth our synger. But they be in the course of the starres, and the mouynges of the heauenly spheres verye expert and cunynge. They haue also wittely excogitated and diuifed instrumentes of diuers fassions: wherein is exactly comprehended and conteyned the mouynges and situations of the sonne, the mone, and of al the other starres, which appere in their horizon. But as for the amityes and diffentions of the planettes, and all that deceytfeful diuination by the starres, they neuer asmuch as dreamed thereof. Raynes, windes, and other courses of tempestes they knowe before by certeine tokens, which they haue learned by long vse and obseruation. But of the causes of al these thinges and of the ebbing, flowinge, and saltenes of the sea, and finallye of the original begynnyng and nature of heauen and of the worlde, they holde partelye the same opinions that oure olde Philosophers hold, and partely, as our Philosophers varye among themselves, so they also, whiles they bringe newe reasons of thinges, do difagree from all them, and yet among themselves in all poyntes they doe not accorde. In that part of Phi-

Musike
Logike.
Arithemetike
Geometrie

In this place
semethe to be a
nipping taunte.

Astronomie.

Yet amonge
christians this
geere is highli
estemed thies
daies.

Naturall phi-
losophie is a
knowledge
most vncertain.

Moral philosophie. *lofophie, which intreateth of manners and vertue, their reasons and opinions agree with ours. They dispute of the good qualities of the fowle, of the body, and of fortune. And whether the name of goodnes maye be applied to all these, or onely to the endowments and giftes of the soule.*

The order of good thinges. *They reason of vertue and pleasure. But the chiefe and principall question is in what thinge, be it one or moe, the felicitye of man consisteth. But in this poynte they seme al-*

The Utopianes holde opinion that felicitie consisteth in honest pleasure.

the defense of this foo deyntie and delicate an opinion, they fetche

The principles of philosophye grounded vpon religion.

The theologie of the Utopianes.

The immortalitie of the soule, wherof these dayes certeine Christianes be in doubt.

mooste to muche geuen and enclined to the opinion of them, which defende pleasure, wherein they determine either all or the chieffeste parte of mans felicitye to reste. And (whyche is more to bee marueled at) euen from their graue, sharpe, bytter, and rygorous religion. For they neuer dispute of felicity or blessednes, but they ioyne vnto the reasons of Philosophie certeyne principles taken oute of religion: wythoute the whyche to the inuestigation of trewe felicitye they thynke reason of it selfe weake and vnperfecte. Those principles be these and such lyke. That the soule is immortal: and by ye bountifull goodnes of God ordeined to felicitie. That to our vertues and good deades rewardes be appointed after this life, and to our euell deades punishmentes. Though these be perteyning to religion, yet they thincke it mete that they shoulde be beleued and graunted by profes of reason. But yf these principles were condempned and dysanulled, then without anye delaye they pronounce no man to be so folish, whiche woulde not do all his diligence and endeouore to obteyne pleasure be ryght or wronge, onely auoydunge this inconuenience, that the lesse pleasure should not be a let or hinderance to the bigger: or that he laboured not for that

pleasure, whiche would bringe after it displeasure, greefe, and sorrow. For they iudge it extreame madnes to folowe sharpe and painful vertue, and not only to bannishe ye pleasure of life, but also willingly to suffer grieffe, without anye hope of proffit thereof ensuinge. For what proffit can there be, if a man, when he hath passed ouer all his lyfe vnpleasauntly, that is to say, miserablye, shall haue no rewarde after his death? But nowe syr they thinke not felicitie to reste in all pleasure, but only in that pleasure that is good and honeste, and that hereto, as to periet blessednes our nature is allured and drawen euen of vertue, whereto onlye they that be of the contrary opinion do attribute ielicitie. For they define vertue to be life ordered according to nature, and that we be here vnto ordeined of god. And that he dothe followe the course of nature, which in desiering and reiusinge things is ruled by reason. Furthermore that reason doth chiefly and principallye kendle in men the loue and veneration of the deuine maiestie. Of whose goodnes it is that we be, and that we be in possibilitie to attayne felicitie. And that secondarely it bothe stirreth and prouoketh vs to leade our lyfe oute of care in ioy and mirth, and also moueth vs to helpe and further all other in respecte of ye societe of nature to obteine and enioye ye same. For there was neuer man so earnest and painefull a follower of vertue and hater of pleasure, yat wold so inioyne you laboures, watchinges, and fastinges, but he would also exhort you to ease, lighten, and relieue, to your powre, ye lack and misery of others, praying the same as a dede of humanitie, and pitie. Then if it be a poynte of humanitie for man to bring health and comforte to man, and speciallye (which is a vertue moste peculiarlye belonging to man) to mitigate and assuage the greife of others, and by takyng from them the sorowe and heuynes of lyfe, to restore them to ioye, that is to saye to pleasure: whie maye it not then be sayd, that nature

As euery pleasure ought not to be inhaunced so greife is not to be pursued but for vertues sake.

In this definition of vertue they agre with the Stoicians.

The worke and effecte of reason in man.

doth prouoke euerye man to doo the same to himselfe?

But nowe a daies some ther bee that wyllyngly procure vnto themselues painefull griefes, as though they rested some hiege pointe of religion, whereas rather the religiously disposed person, yf they happen to him either by chaunce or elles by naturall necessitie, ought patiently to receaue and suffer them.

For a ioyfull lyfe, that is to say, a pleasaunt lyfe is either euel: and if it be so, then thou shouldest not onely helpe no man therto, but rather, as much as in the lieth, withdrawe all men frome it, as noysome and hurteful, or els if thou not only mayste, but also of dewty art bound to procure it to others, why not chiefly to the selfe? To whome thou art bound to shew as much fauoure and gentelnes as to other. For when nature biddeth the to be good and gentle to other she commaundeth the not to be cruell and vngentle to the selfe. Therefore euen very nature (saye they) prescribeth to vs a ioyful lyfe, that is to say, pleasure as the ende of all oure operations. And they define vertue to be lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature. But in that that nature dothe allure and prouoke men one to heape another to lyue merily (which fuerly she doth not without a good cause: for no man is so farre aboue the lotte of mans state or condicion, that nature dothe carke and care for hym onely, whiche equallye fauoureth all, that be comprehended vnder the communion of one shape forme and fassion) verely she commaundeth the to vse diligent circumspection, that thou do not so seke for thine owne commodities, that thou procure others incommodities. Wherefore their opinion is, that not only couenauntes and bargaynes made amonge priuate men ought to be well and faythfullye fulfilled, obserued, and kepte, but also common lawes, whiche either a good prince hath iustly published, or els the people neither oppressed with tyranye, neither deceaued by fraude and gyell, hath by their common consent constituted and ratified, concerninge the particion of the commodities of lyfe, that is to say, the matter of pleasure. These lawes not offended, it is wysdome, that thou looke to thine own

Bargaynes and Lawes.

wealth. And to doe the same for the common wealth is no lesse then thy duetie, if thou bearest any reuerent loue, or any naturall zeale and affection to thy natiue countrey. But to go about to let an other man of his pleasure, whiles thou procurest thine owne, that is open wrong. Contrary wyse to withdrawe somethinge from the selfe to geue to other, that is a pointe of humanitie and gentilnes: whiche neuer taketh awaye so muche commoditie, as it bringethe agayne. For it is recompensed with the retourne of benefytes, and the conscience of the good dede, with the remembraunce of the thankfull loue and beneuolence of them to whom thou hast done it, doth bringe more pleasure to thy mynde, then that whiche thou hast withholden from thy selfe could haue brought to thy bodye. Finallye (which to a godly disposed and a religious mind is easy to be perswaded) God recompenseth the gifte of a short and smal pleasure with great and euerlastinge ioye. Therefore the matter diligently weyede and considered, thus they thinke, that all our actions, and in them the vertues themselves be referred at the last to pleasure, as their ende and felicitie. Pleasure they call euery motion and state of the bodie or mynde, wherin man hath naturally delectation. Appetite they ioyne to nature, and that not without a good cause. For like as, not, only the senses, but also right reason coueteth whatfoeuer is naturally pleasaunt, for yat it may be gotten without wrong or iniurie, not letting or debarring a greater pleasure, nor causing painfull labour, euen so those thinges that men by vaine ymagination do fayne against nature to be pleasaunt (as though it laye in their power to chaunge ye thinges, as they do ye names of thinges) al suche pleasures they beleue to be of so small helpe and furtheraunce to felicitie, that they counte them a great let and hinderaunce. Because that in whom they haue ones taken place, all his mynde they possesse with a false opinion of pleasure. So that there is no place left for true and

The mutual recourse of kindnes.

The definition of Pleasure.

False and counterfeate pleasures.

naturall delectations. For there be many thinges, which of their owne nature conteyne no plesantnes: yea the moſte parte of them muche grieſe and ſorrowe. And yet throughe the peruerſe and malicyous flickeringe inticementes of lewde and vnhoneſte deſyres, be taken not only for ſpeciall and fouereigne pleaſures, but alſo be counted amonge the chiefe cauſes of life. In this counterfeate kinde of pleaſure they put them that

The error of
them that teſtme
themſelves the
more for appar-
relles ſake.

I ſpake of before. Whiche the better gownes they haue on, the better men they thinke them ſelves. In the which thing they doo twyie erre. For they be no leſſe deceaued in that they thinke their gowne the better, than they be, in that they thinke themſelves the better. For if you conſider the profitable uſe of the garmente, whye ſhould wulle of a finer ſponne threde, be thoug[h]t better, than the wul of a courſe ſponne threde? Yet they, as though the one did paſſe the other by nature, and not by their miſtakyng, auance themſelves, and thinke the price of their owne perſones thereby greatly encreaſed. And therefore the honour, which in a courſe gowne they durſte not haue looked for, they require, as it were of dewtie, for their finer gownes ſake. And if they be paſſed by without reuerence, they take it diſpleaſantly and diſdainfullye.

Foliſh honore.

And agayne is it not lyke madnes to take a pryde in vayne and vnprofitable honours? For what naturall or trewe pleaſure doeſt thou take of an other mans bare hede, or bowed knees? Will this eaſe the paine of thy knees, or remedie the phrenſie of thy hede? In this ymage of counterfeite pleaſure, they be of a maruelous madneſſe, whiche for the opinion of nobilitie, reiouyſe muche in their owne conceyte. Be-
vaine nobili-
tie. cause it was their fortune to come of ſuche auncetoures, whoſe ſtocke of longe tyme hath bene counted ryche (for nowe nobilitie is nothing elles) ſpeciallye riche in landes. And though their auncetours left them not one foote of lande, or els they themſelues haue pyſſed it agaynſte the walles, yet

they thinke themselves not the lesse noble therefore of one heare. In this number also they counte them that take pleasure and delite (as I said) in gemmes and precious stones, and thynke themselves almoste goddesses, if they chaunce to gette an excellent one, speciallye of that kynde, whiche in that tyme of their own countre men, is had in hyghest estimation. For one kynde of stone kepeth not his pryce styll in all countreis, and at all times. Nor they bye them not, but taken out of the golde, and bare: no nor so neither, vntyll they haue made the seller to sweare, that he will warraunte and assure it to be a true stone, and no counterfeit gemme. Suche care they take lest a counterfeite stone should deceaue their eyes in steade of a ryghte stone. But why shouldest thou not take euen asmuche pleasure in beholdynge a counterfeite stone, whiche thine eye cannot discern from a righte stone? They shoulde bothe be of lyke value to thee, euen as to the blynde man. What shall I saye of them, that kepe superfluous riches, to take delectation only in the beholdinge, and not in the vse or occupiynge thereof? Do they take trew pleasure, or elles be thei deceaued with false pleasure? Or of them that be in a contrarie vice, hidinge the gold whiche they shall neuer occupye, nor peradventure neuer se more? And whiles they take care leaste they shall leese it, do leese it in dede. For what is it elles, when they hyde it in the ground, takynge it bothe from their owne vse, and perchance frome all other mennes also? And yet thou, when thou haste hydde thy treasure, as one out of all care, hoppest for ioye. The whiche treasure, yf it shoulde chaunce to bee stolen. and thou ignoraunt of the thefte shouldest dye tenne years after: all that tenne yeares space that thou lyuedest after thy money was stollen, what matter was it to thee, whether it hadde bene taken awaye or elles safe as thou lefteste

Pleasure in precious stones most folish.

The opinion and fansie of people doeth augment and diminish the price and estimation of precious stones.

Beholders of treasure, not occupiynge the same.

Hyders of treasure.

A prettie fiction and a wittie.

it? Trewlye both wayes like profytte came to thee. To these so foolyshe pleasures they ioyne dicers, whose madnesse they knowe by hearfay, and not

Dice playe.

by vse. Hunters also, and hawkers. For what pleasure is there (say they) in castinge the dice vpon a table. Which thou hast done so often, that if there wer any pleasure in it, yet the oft vse might make

Huntinge and hawkinge.

thee werie thereof? Or what delite can there be, and not rather dyspleasure in hearynge the barkynge and howlynge of dogges? Or what greater pleasure is there to be felte, when a dogge followeth an hare, then when a dogge followeth a dogge? for one thinge is done in bothe, that is to saye, runnyng, yf thou haste pleasure therin. But yf the hope of slaughter, and the expectation of tearynge in peces the beaste doth please thee: thou shouldest rather be moued with pitie to see a selye innocente hare murdered of a dogge: the weake of the stronger, the fearefull of the feerce, the innocente of the cruell and vnmercyfull.

Hunting the basest parte of bouchers among the Utopians, and yet this is nowe the exercise of most noble men.

Therefore all thys exercyse of huntynge, as a thynge vnworthye to be vsed of free men, the Utopians haue reiected to their bouchers to the whiche crafte (as we sayde before) they appointe their bondemen. For they counte huntynge the lowest, the vyl este, and mooste abiecte part of boucherie, and the other partes of it more profitable, and more honeste, as bryngynge muche more commoditie, in that they kyll beastes onely for necessitie. Where as the hunter seketh nothings but pleasure of the seelye and wofull beastes slaughter and murder. The whiche pleasure in beholdinge deathe, they thinke doeth rise in the very beastes, either of a cruel affection of mind, or els to be chaunged in continuaunce of time into crueltie, by longe vse of so cruell a pleasure. These therefore and all suche like, whiche be innumerable, though the common forte of people doth take them for pleasures, yet they, feing there is no natural pleasauntnes in them, do playnly determine them to haue no affinitie with trew and right

pleasure. For as touchinge that they do commonlye moue the sense with delectation (whiche semeth to be a worke of pleasure) this doeth nothyng diminishe their opinion. For not the nature of the thing, but their peruerse and lewde custome is the cause hereof. Whiche causeth them to accept bitter or sowre thynges for swete thynges. Euen as women with child in their viciate and corrupte taste, thynke pytche and tallowe sweter then any honey. Howbeit no mannes iudgemente depraued and corrupte, either by syckenes, or by custome, can chaunge the nature of pleasure, more then it can do the nature of other thinges. They make diuers kindes of pleasures. For some The kindes of trew pleasures. they attribute to the soule, and some to the body. To the soule they geue intelligence, and that delectation, that commeth of the contemplation of trewth. Hereunto is ioyned the pleasaunte remembraunce of the good lyfe past. The The pleasures of the bodye. pleasure of the bodye they deuide into ii. partes. The first is when delectation is sensibly felt and perceaued. Whiche many times chaunceth by the renewing and refreshing of those partes, whiche oure naturall heate drieth vp. This commeth by meate and drynke. And sometymes whyles those thynges be expulsed, and voyded, wherof is in the body ouer great abundaunce. This pleasure is felt, when we do our natural easement, or when we be doying the acte of generation, or when the ytching of any part is eased with rubbing or scratchyng. Sometimes pleasure riseth exhibitinge to any membre nothyng that it desireth, nor takyng from it any paine that it feeleth, which neuerthelesse tikleth and moueth oure senses wyth a certeine secrete efficacie, but with a manifest motion turnethe them to it. As is that whiche commeth of musicke. The seconde parte of bodely pleasure they say, is that which consisteth and resteth in the quiete, and vpryghte state Bodily health. of the bodye. And that trewlye is euerye mannes owne propre health entermingled and dis-

turbed with no griefe. For this, yf it be not letted nor assaulted with no greif, is delectable of it selfe, though it be moued with no externall or outwarde pleasure. For though it be not so plain and manyfeste to the sense, as the gredye luste of eatynge and drynkyng, yet neuerthelesse manye take it for the chiefeste pleasure. All the Utopians graunt it to be a right fouereigne pleasure, and as you woulde saye the foundation and grounde of all pleasures, as whiche euen alone is hable to make the state and condition of life delectable and pleasaunt. And it beyng once taken awaye, there is no place lefte for any pleasure. For to be without greife not hauinge health, that they call vnensibilitie, and not pleasure. The Utopians haue long ago reiected and condempned the opinion of them, whiche sayde that stedfaste and quiete healthe (for this question also hathe bene diligently debated amonge them) oughte not therefore to be counted a pleasure, bycause they saye it can not be presentlye and sensiblye perceaued and felte by some outwarde motion. But of the contrarie parte nowe they agree almooste all in this, that healthe is a moost foueraigne pleasure. For seyng that in sycknesse (saye they) is greiffe, whiche is a mortal enemie to pleasure, euen as sicknes is to health, why should not then pleasure be in the quietnes of health? For they say it maketh nothing to this matter, whether you saye that sycknesse is a griefe, or that in sickenes is griefe, for all commethe to one purpose. For whether health be a pleasure it selfe, or a necessary cause of pleasure, as fier is of heate, truelye bothe waye it foloweth, that they cannot be withoute pleasure, that be in perfect helth. Furthermore whiles we eat (say they) then healthe, whiche beganne to be appayred, fighteth by the helpe of foode againste hunger. In the which fight, whiles health by litle and litle getteth the vpper hande, that same procedyng, and (as ye would say) that onwardnes to the wonte strength ministreth that pleasure, whereby we be so refreshed. Health therefore, whiche in the conflict is ioyefull, shall it not be mery, when it

hath gOTTen the victorie? But as soone as it hath recovered the pristinate strength, which thing onely in all the fight it coueted, shal it incontinent be astonied? Nor shal it not know nor imbrace the owne wealthe and goodnes? For where it is said, healthe can not be felt: this, they thinke, is nothing trew. For what man wakyng, say they, felethe not himselve in health: but he that is not? Is there anye man so possessed with stonifhe insensibilitie, or with lethargie, that is to say, the sleping sicknes, that he will not graunt healthe to be acceptable to him, and delectable?

But what other thinge is delectation, than Delectation. that whiche by an other name is called pleasure?

They imbrace chieflie the pleasures of the The pleasures of the mynde. mind. For them they counte the chiefest

and most principall of all. The chiefe parte of them they thinke doth come of the exercife of vertue, and conscience of good life. Of these pleasures that the body ministreth, they geue ye preeminence to helth. For the delite of eating and drinking, and whatfoeuer hath any like pleasauntnes, they determyne to be pleasures mucche to be desired, but no other wayes than for healthes sake. For suche thinges of their own proper nature be not so pleasaunt, but in that they resiste sicknesse priuelie stealing on. Therefore like as it is a wise mans part, rather to auoid sicknes, then to wishe for medicines, and rather to driue away and put to flight carefull griefes, then to call for comfort: so it is mucche better not to neade this kinde of pleasure, then thereby to be eased of the contrarie grieffe. The whiche kinde of pleasure, yf anye man take for his felicitie, that man must nedes graunt, that then he shalbe in most felicitie, if he liue that life, which is led in continuall hunger, thurst, itching, eatinge, drynkynge, scratchynge, and rubbing. The which life how not only foule, and vnhonest, but also howe miserable, and wretched it is, who perceueth not? These doubtles be the basest pleasures of al, as vnpure and vnperfect. For they neuer come, but accompanied with their contrarie

griefes. As with the pleasure of eating is ioyned hunger, and yat after no very egal fort. For of these. ii. ye grieffe is both the more vehement, and also of longer continuance. For it beginneth before the pleasure, and endeth not vntil the pleasure die with it. Wherefore suche pleasures they thinke not greatlye to be set by, but in yat thei be necessari. Howbeit they haue delite also in these, and thankfulli knowledge ye tender loue of mother nature, which with most pleasaunt delectation allureth her children to that, to the necessarie vse wherof they must from time to time continually be forced and driuen. For how wretched and miserable should our life be, if these dailie greffes of hunger and thurst coulde not be driuen away, but with bitter potions, and sower medicines, as the other

The giftes of nature. diseases be, wherewith we be seldomer troubled? But beutie, strengthe, nembles, these as peculiar and pleasaunt giftes of nature they make muche of. But those pleasures that be receaued by the eares, the eyes, and the nose, whiche nature willethe to be proper and peculiar to man (for no other liuinge creature doth behold the fairenes and the bewtie of the worlde, or is moued with any respecte of fauours, but onely for the diuersitie of meates, neither perceaueth the concordante and discordant distaunces of foundes, and tunes) these pleasures, I say, they accept and alowe as certen pleasaunte reioysinges of life. But in all thinges this cautel they vse, that a lesse pleasure hinder not a bigger, and that the pleasure be no cause of displeasure, whiche they thinke to folow of necessitie, if the pleasure be vnhoneste. But yet to dispise the comlines of bewtie, to wast the bodelie strengthe, to turne nimblenes into sloughishnesse, to consume and make feble the bodie with fastinge, to do iniurie to healthe, and to reiecte the pleasaunte motions of nature, onles a man neglecte these commodities, whiles he dothe with a feruent zeale procure the wealth of others, or the commen profite, for the whiche pleasure forborne, he is in hoope of a greater

pleasure at goddes hande, elles for a vaine shaddow of vertue, for the wealth and profite of no man, to punishe himselfe, or to the intente he maye be hable courragiouse to suffer aduersitie: which perchaunce shall neuer come to him, this to do they thinke it a point of extreame madnes, and a token of a man cruelly minded towards himselfe, and vnkind towards nature, as one so disdainig to be in her daunger, that he renounceth and refuseth all her benefites.

This is their sentence and opinion of vertue and pleasure. And they beleue that by mans reason none can be found trewer then this, onles any Marke this well. godlyer be inspired into man from heuen.

Wherin whether they beleue well or no neither the time doth suffer vs to discusse neither it is nowe necessarie. For we haue taken vpon vs to shewe and declare their lores and ordinaunces, and not to defende them. But this thyng I beleue verely: howe soeuer these decrees be, that there is in no place of the world, neyther a more excellent people, neither a more flourishyng commen wealth. They be lyghte and quicke of bodie, full of actiuitie and nimblenes, and of more strength then a man The wealth and description of the Utopians. wolde iudge them by their stature, which for all that is not to lowe. And thoughe theyr soyle be not verie frutefull, nor their aier very wholsome, yet againste the ayer they so defende them with temperate diete, and so order and husbände their grounde with diligente trauaile, that in no countrey is greater increase, and plentye of corne and cattell, nor mens bodies of longer lyfe, and subiect or apte to fewer diseases. There therefore a man maye see well, and diligentlie exploited and furnished, not onely those thinges whiche husbandemen do commenly in other countreis, as by craft and cunnigge to remedie the barrennes of the grounde: but also a whole wood by the handes of the people plucked vp by the rootes in one place, and set againe in an other place. Wherein was had regard and consideration, not of plenty, but of commodious

carriage, that wood and timber might be nigher to the sea, or the riuers, or, ye cities. For it is lesse labour and businesse to carri grayne farre by land, than wood. The people be gentle, merie, quicke, and fyne witted, delitinge in quietnes, and when nede requireth, hable to abide and suffer much bodelie labour. Els they be not greatly desirous and fond of it: but in the exercise and studie of the mind they be neuer wery. When

The vtilitie of the greke tonge.

they had herd me speake of ye greke literature or lerning (for in latin there was nothing that I thought they would greatly alow, besides historiens and Poetes) they made wonderfull earneste and importunate sute vnto me that I would teach and instructe them in that tonge and learninge. I beganne therfore to reade vnto them, at the first truelie more bicause I would not seme to refuse the labour, then that I hooped that they would any thing profite therein. But when I had gone forward a litle, I perceaued in-

A wonderfull aptnes to learninge in the Utopians.

continente by their diligence, that my labour should not be bestowed in vaine. For they began so easelie to fashion their letters, so plainlie to pronounce the woordes,

so quickelie to learne by hearte, and so fuerlie to rehearse the same, that I maruailed at it, sauinge that

But now most blockheded asses be sette to learninge, and mostpregnaunt wittes corrupt with pleasures

the most parte of them were fine, and chosfen wittes and of ripe age, piked oute of the companie of the learned men, whiche not onelie of their owne free and voluntarie will, but also by the commaundemente of the counsell, vndertoke to learne this langage. Therefore in lesse then thre yeres space there was nothing in the Greke tonge that they lacked. They were hable to rede good authors withoute anie staye, if the booke were not false. This kynde of learninge, as I suppose, they toke so muche the sooner, bycause, it is sumwhat allyaunte to them. For I thinke that this nation tooke their beginninge of the Grekes, bicause their speche, which in al other poyntes is not much vnlyke the Persian tonge, kepeth dyuers signes and tokens of the

greke langage in the names of their cityes, and of their magistrates. They haue of me (for when I was determined to entre into my. iiii. voyage, I caste into the shippe in the steade of marchandise a prety fardel of bookes, bycause I intended to come againe rather neuer, than shortly) they haue, I saye, of me the moste parte of Platoes workes, more of Aristotles, also Theophrastus of plantes, but in diuers places (which I am forye for) vnperfecte. For whiles we were a shipborde, a marmoset chaunced vpon the booke, as it was negligentlye layde by, which wantonlye playinge therewith plucked oute certeyne leaues, and toore them in pieces. Of them that haue wrytten the grammer, they haue onelye Lascaris. For Theodorus I caried not wyth me, nor neuer a dictionayre, but Hesichius, and Dioscorides. They sett greate stoore by Plutarches bookes. And they be dellyted wyth Lucianes mery conceytes and iestes. Of the Poetes they haue Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles in Aldus small prynte. Of the Historians they haue Thucidides, Herodotus, and Herodian. Also my companion, Tricius Apinatus caried with him phisick boke, certain smal workes of Hippocrates and Galenes Microtechne. The whyche boke they haue in greate estimation. For though there be almost no nation vnder heauen that hath lesse nede of Phisicke then they, yet this notwithstanding, Phisicke is no where in greater honour. Phisicke highly regarded. Bycause they counte the knowledge of it among the goodlyeste, and most profytable partes of Philosophie. For whyles they by the helpe of this Philosophie searche oute the secrete mysteres of nature, they thinke themselves to receaue therby not onelye wonderfull greate pleasure, but also to obtaine great thanks and fauour of the autour and maker therof. Whome they thinke according to ye fassion of other artificers, The contemplacion of nature. to haue set furth the maruelous and gorgeous frame of the world for man with great affection intentiuely to beholde. Whom only he hath

made of witte, and capacitie to confidre and vnderstand the excellencie of fo great a woork. And therefore he beareth (fay they) more goodwil and loue to the curious and diligent beholder and vewer of his woork and maruelour at the fame, then he doth to him, which like a very brute beaste without witte and reason, or as one without fenfe or mouing, hathe no regarde to soo greate and soo wonderfull a spectacle. The wittes therefore of the Utopians inured and exercised in learnynge, be marueilous quicke in the inuention of feates helpinge annye thinge to the aduantage and wealthe of lyffe. Howbeit. ii. feates theye maye thanke vs for. That is, the scyence of imprinting, and the crafte of makinge paper. And yet not onelye vs but chiefelye and principallye themselves.

For when we shewed to them Aldus his print in bookes of paper, and told them of the stuffe wherof paper is made, and of the feate of grauing letters, speakinge sumwhat more, then we colde plainlye declare (for there was none of vs, that knewe perfectlye either the one or the other) they furthwith very wittely coniectured the thinge. And where as before they wrote onely in skinnes, in barks of tryes, and in rides, nowe they haue attempted to make paper, and to imprint letters. And thoughte at the first yt proued not all of the beste, yet by often assayinge the fame they shortelye got the feate of bothe. And haue so broughte the matter aboute, that yf they had cotypes of Greeke authores, they coulde lacke no bookes. But nowe they haue no moore, then I rehearsed before, fauinge that by pryntyng of bookes they haue multiplyed and increased the fame into manye thousandes of copies. Whosoeuer cummeth thether to see the lande, beinge excellent in anye gifte of wytte, or throug[h]e muche and longe iournienge wel experienced and sene in the knoweledg[e] of many countreies (for the whyche cause wee were very welcome to them) him they receyue and interteyne wonders gentilly, and louinglye. For they haue delite to heare what is done in euerye lande,

howbeit verye fewe merchaunte men come thether. For what shoulde they bring thether, onles it were Iron, or els gold and siluer, whiche they hadde rather carrye home agayne? Also such thinges as are to be caryed oute of their lande, they thinke it more wysedome to carry that gere furthe themselves, then that other shoulde come thether to fetche it,
 toth[e] entente they maye the better knowe the out landes on euerye syde of them, and kepe in vre the feate and knowledge of failinge.

Of Bondemen, sicke persons, wedlocke, and diuers other matters.



They neither make bondemen of prisoners taken in battayle, oneles it be in battaylle that they foughte them selves, nor of bondmens children, nor to be short, of anye suche as they canne gette oute of forreine countries, though he were their a bondman. But either suche, as amonge themselves for heinous offences be punyshed with bondage, or elles suche, as in the Cities of other landes for great trespasses be condempned to death. And of this sort of bondemen they haue mooste stoore.

A maruelous equitie of this nation.

For manye of them they bringe home sumtimes payinge very lytle for them, yea mooste commonlye gettinge them for gramercye. These fortes of bondemen they kepe not onely in continual woorke and labour, but also in bandes. But their oune men they handle hardest, whom they Iudge more desperate, and to haue deserued greater puniffhement, bycause they being so godlye broughte vp to vertue in soo excelente a common wealth, could not for all that be refrained from

misdoing. An other kinde of bondemen they haue, when a vile drudge being a poore laborer in an other cuntry doth chiefe of his owne free wyll to be a bondman among them. These they intreate and order honestly, and enterteine almoste as gentellye, as their owne free cytyzeins, sauynge that they put them to a litle more labour, as thereto accustomed. Yf anye siche, be disposed to departe thens (whiche seldom is seene) they neither holde him againste his wyll, neither sende him away with emptye handes. The sych (as I sayde) they see to with great affection, and lette nothing at al passe concerninge either Phisycke or good diete, whereby they may be restored againe to their health. Such as be sicke of incurable diseases they comforte with sittinge by them, with talkinge with them, and to be shorte with all maner, of helpes that may be. But yf the disease be not onely vncurable, but also full of contynuall payne and anguise: then the priestes and the magistrates exhort the man, seinge he is not hable to doo anye dewtye of lyffe, and by ouerlyuinge his owne deathe is noysome and irkesome to other, and greuous to himselfe: that he wyl determine with himselfe no longer to cheryshe that pestilent and peinesful disease. And seinge his lyfe is to him but a tormente, that he wyl not bee vnwillinge to dye, but rather take a good hope to him, and either dispatche himselfe out of that payneful lyffe, as out of a prison, or a racke of tormente, or elles suffer himselfe wyllinglye to be rydde oute of it by other. And in so doinge they tell him he shall doo wyfely, seing by his deathe he shall lose no commoditye, but ende his payne. And bycause in that acte he shall followe the counfel of the pryestes, that is to saye, of the interpreters of goddes wyll and pleasure, they shewe him that he shall do lyke a godly and a vertuous man. They that be thus perswaded, finyshe their liues willynglye, either with hunger, or elles dye in their sleape without anye fealing of deathe. But they cause none siche to dye

Of them that
be sicke.

Voluntarye
deathe.

agaynſte his wyll, nor they vſe no leſſe dilygence and attendaunce aboute him: beleuinge this to be an honorable deathe. Elles he that killeth himſelf before that the pryetes and the counſel haue allowed the cauſe of his deathe, him as vnworthy either to be buried, or with fier to be conſumed, they caſte vnburied into ſome ſtinkinge marrifh. The woman is not married before ſhe be xviii.

Of wedlocke.

yeres olde. The man iiij yeres elder before he marye. If either the man or the woman be proued to haue actually offended before their marriage, with an other, the partye that ſo hath trespassed is ſharpelye puniſhed. And bothe the offenders be forbidden euer after in al their lyfe to marrye: oneles the faulte be forgeuen by the princes pardone. But bothe the good man and the good wyfe of the houſe, where that offense was committed as beinge ſlacke and neglygent in lookinge to their charge, be in daunger of greate reproche and infamye. That offense is ſo ſharpelye punyſhed, bicauſe they perceauē, that onles they be diligentlye kepte from the libertye of this vice, fewe wyll ioynē together in the loue of marriage, wherein all the lyfe muſt be led with one, and alſo all the griefes and displeaſures coming therewith patiently be taken and borne. Furthermore in chueſingē wyfes and husbandes they obſerue earnestly and ſtraytelye a cuſtome, whiche ſemed to vs very ſonde and ſolyſhe. For a ſad and an honeſt matrone ſheweth the woman, be ſhe mayde or widdowe, naked to the wower. And lykewyſe a ſage and diſcrete man exhibyteth the wower naked to the woman. At this cuſtome we laughed, and diſallowed it as fooliſhe. But they on the other parte doo greatlye wonder at the follye of al other nations, whyche in byingē a colte, whereas a lytle money is in haſarde, be ſo charye and circumspecte, that thoughē he be almoſte all bare, yet they wyll not bye hym, oneles the ſaddel and all the harneies be taken of, leaſte vnder thoſe couerynges be hydde, ſom galle or ſoore. And yet in chueſingē a wyfe,

Thoughē not
verie honeſtly,
yet not vn-
wiſelye.

whyche shalbe either pleasure, or displeasure to them all their lyfe after, they be so recheles, that al the refydewe of the woomans bodye beinge couered with cloothes, they esteeme her scaselye be one handebredeth (for they can se no more but her face) and so to ioyne her to them not without greate ieoperdye of euel agreinge together, yf any thing in her body afterward should chaunce of offend and myslyke them.

For all men be not so wyse, as to haue respecte to the vertuous conditions of the partie. And the endowmentes of the bodye cause the vertues of the minde more to be esteemed and regarded: yea euen in the mariages of wyse men. Verely so foule deformitie maye be hydde vnder those coueringes, that it maye quite alienate and take awaye the mans mynde from his wyfe, when it shal not be lawful for their bodies to be separate agayne. If suche deformitie happen by any chaunce after the mariage is consummate and finyshed, wel, there is no remedie but patience. Euery man muste take his fortune wel a worthe. But it were wel done that a lawe were made wherebye all suche deceytes myghte be eschewed, and aduoyded before hande.

And this were they constreyned more earnestlye to looke vpon, because they onlye of the nations in that parte of the worlde bee contente euerye man with one wyfe a piece. And matrymoneie is there neuer broken, but by death: excepte adulterye breake the bonde, or els the intollerable wayeward maners of either partye. For if either of them finde
 Diuorcement. themselves for any such cause greued: they maye by the license of the counsel chaunge and take another. But the other partie lyueth euer after in infamy, and out of wedlocke. Howbeit the husbände to put away his wife for no other faulte, but for that some myshappe is fallen to her bodye, this by no meanes they wyll suffre. For they iudge it a great poynt of crueltie, that anye body in their moste nede of helpe and comforte, shoulde be caste of and forsaken,

and that olde age, whych both bringeth sicknes with it, and is a fyckenes it selfe, should vnkindly and vn-faythfullye be delte withall. But nowe and then it chaunfeth, where as the man and the woman cannot well agree betw[e]ne themselfes, both of them fyndinge other, with whome they hope to lyue more quietlye and merylye, that they by the full consente of them bothe be diuorfed a fonder and maried againe to other. But that not without the authoritie of the counsell. Whiche agreeth to no diuorfes, before they and their wyfes haue diligently tried and examyned the matter. Yea and then also they be lothe to consent to it, bycause they know this to be the next way to break loue betwene man and wyfe, to be in eaiye hope of a new mariage. Breakers of wedlocke be punyshed with mooste greuous bondage. And if both the offenders were maried, then the parties whiche in that behalfe haue sufferede wrong, beinge diuorfed from the auoutrers, be maried together, if they wille, or els to whom they lust. But if either of them both do styl continewe in loue towarde so vnkinde a bedfellowe, the vse of wedlocke is not to them forbidden, if the partye faulteles be disposed to followe in toylinge and drudgerye the person, which for that offence is condempned to bondage. And very ofte it chaunceth that the repentaunce of the one, and the earnest diligence of the other, dothe so moue the prince with pytie and compassion, that he restoreth the bonde persone from seruitude to libertie and fredom again. But if the same partie be taken estfones in that faulte, there is no other waye but death. To other trespaces no prescript punishmente is appoynted by anye lawe. But accordinge to the heynoufenes of the offense, or contrarye, so the punishmente is moderated by the discretion of the counsell. The husbandes chastice their wyfes: and the parentes their children, oneles they haue done anye so horryble an offense, that the open punyshment thereof maketh muche for the aduancemente

The decerning
of punishment
putte to the
discretion of
the magistra-
tes.

of honeste maners. But moſte commenlye the moſte heynous faultes be punyſhed with the incommoditie of bondage. For that they ſuppoſe to be to the offenders no leſſe grieſe, and to the common wealth more profit, then yf they ſhould haſtely put them to death, and ſo make them quite out of the waye. For there cummeth more profit of their labour, then of their deathe, and by their example they feare other the longer from lyke offences. But if they beinge thus uſed, doo rebell and kicke againe, then forſothe they be ſlayne as deſperate and wilde beaſtes, whom neither priſon nor chaine coulde reſtraine and kepe vnder. But they, whiche take their bondage pacientlye, be not leſte all hopeles. For after they haue bene broken and tamed with long miſeries, if then they ſhewe ſuch repentaunce, as thereby it maye bee perceaued that they be ſoryer for their offence then for their punyſhement: ſumtymes by the Prynces prerogatyue, and ſumtymes by the voyce and conſent of the people, their bondage either is mitigated, or els cleane releaſed and forgeuen. He that moueth to aduoutreye is in no leſſe daunger and ieperdie, then yf he hadde committed aduoutreye in dede. For in all offences they counte the intente and pretended purpoſe as euell, as the acte or dede it ſelfe, thinking that no lette oughte to excuſe him, that did his beſte to haue no lette. They haue ſingular delite and pleaſure in ſoles. And as it is a greate reproche to do annye of them hurte or iniury, ſo they prohibite not to take pleaſure of foolyſhnes. For that, they thinke, dothe muche good to the foolles. And if any man be ſo ſadde, and ſterne, that he cannot laughe neither at their wordes, nor at their dedes, none of them be committed to his tuition: for feare leaſt he would not intreate them gentilly and fauorably enough: to whom they ſhould brynge no delectation (for other goodnes in them is none) muche leſſe anye proffite ſhoulde they yelde him. To mocke a man for his de-

Motion to aduoutreye punyſhed.

pleaſure of foolles.

formitie, or for that he lacketh anye parte or lymme of his bodye, is counted greate dishonestye and reproche, not to him that is mocked, but to him that mocketh. Which vnwyfely doth imbrayde anye man of that as a vice, that was not in his powre to eschewe. Also as they counte and reken verye little witte to be in him, that regardeth not naturall bewtie and comlineffe, fo to helpe the same with payntinges, is taken

for a vaine and a wanton pride, not withoute greate infamie. For they knowe euen Counterfeite bewtie.

by very experience, that no comelineffe of bewtye doethe so hyghelye commende and auauance the wiues in the conceite of their husbandes, as honest conditions and lowlines. For as loue is oftentimes wonne with bewty, so it is not kept, preferued, and continued, but by vertue and obedience. They do

not onely feare their people from doying euil by punishmentes, but also allure them Sinne punished and vertue rewarded.

to vertue with rewardes of honoure. Therefore they set vp in the markette place the ymages of notable men, and of such as haue bene great and bountefull benefactors to the commen wealth, for ye perpetual memorie of their good actes: and also that the glory and renowme of the auncetors maye styrre and prouoke their posteritie to vertue. He that inordinatly and ambitiously desireth promotions, is left al hopeles for euer attaining any promotion as long as he liueth.

The inordinate desire of honours condemned.

They lyue together louinglye. For no magistrate is eyther hawte or fearfull. Fathers they be called, and lyke fathers they vse themselues. The citezens (as it is their dewtie) willynglye exhibite vnto them dew honour without any compulsion. Magistrates honoured.

Nor the prince himselfe is not knowen from the other by princely apparell, or a robe of state, nor by a crown or diademe roial, or cap of maintenance, but by a litle sheffe of corne caried before him. And so a taper of wax is borne before ye bishop, wherby onely he is knowen. They haue but few

Fewe lawes. lawes. For to people so instructe and institute very fewe do suffice. Yea this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable bookes of lawes and expositions vpon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and iustice that men shoulde be bound to those lawes, which either be in number mo then be hable to be read, or els blinder and darker, then that anye man

The multitude
of lawyers
superfluous.

can well vnderstande them. Furthermore they vtterlie exclude and banishe all attorneis, proctours, and sergeauntes at the lawe: whiche craftelye handell matters, and subtelly dispute of the lawes. For they thinke it moste meete, that euery man shoulde pleade his own matter, and tel the same tale before the iudge that he wold tell to his man of law. So shal there be lesse circumstance of wordes, and the trueth shall soner come to light, whiles the iudge with a discrete iudgement doeth waye the woordes of him, whom no lawyer hath instructe with deceit, and whiles he helpeth and beareth out simple wittes against the falie and malicious circumuentions of craftie children. This is harde to be obserued in other countreis, in so infinitie a number of blinde and intricate lawes. But in Utopia euery man is a cunning lawier. For (as I said) they haue very fewe lawes: and the plainer and grosier that anye interpretation is:

The intent of
lawes.

that they allowe as most iuste. For all lawes (saie they) be made and publyshed onely to the intente, that by them euery man shoulde be put in remembrance of his dewtie. But the craftye and subtill interpretation of them (forasmuche as fewe can atteyne thereto) canne put verie fewe in that remembrance, where as the simple, the plaine, and grosse meaninge of the lawes is open to euery man.

Elles as touchinge the vulgare sort of the people, whiche be bothe mooste in number, and haue moste nede to knowe their dewties, were it not as good for them, that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bringe so blynde an interpretation vpon it, that

without greate witte and longe arguyng no man can discusse it? To the fyndyng oute whereof neyther the grosse iudgement of the people can attaine, neither the whole life of them that be occupied in woorkinge for their liuynges, canne suffice thereto. These vertues of the Utopians haue caused their nexte neiboures and borderers, whiche liue fre and vnder no subiection (for the Utopians longe ago, haue deliuered manye of them from tirannie) to take magistrates of them, some for a yeare, and some for fiue yeares space. Which when the tyme of their office is expired, they bringe home againe with hooure and praife, and take new againe with them into their countrey. These nations haue vndoubtedlye very well and holfomely prouided for their common wealthes. For seyng that bothe the makeinge and marringe of the weale publique, doeth depende and hange vpon the maners of the rulers and magistrates, what officers coulde they more wyselye haue chofen, then those which can not be ledde from honestye by bribes (for to them that shortly after shal depart thens into their own countrey money shoulde be vnprofitable) nor yet be moued eyther with fauoure, or malice towards any man, as beyng straungers, and vna[c]quainted with the people? The whiche two vices of affection and auarice, where they take place in iudgementes, incontiente they breake iustice, the strongest and suerest bonde of a common wealth. These peoples whiche fetch their officers and rulers from them, the Utopians cal their fellowes. And othe to whome they haue bene beneficiall, they call their frendes. As touching leagues, which in other places betwene countrey and countrey Of leagues. be so ofte concluded, broken, and renewed, they neuer make none with anie nation. For to what purpose serue leagues, say they? As thoughe nature had not set sufficient loue betwene man and man. And who so regardeth not nature, thinke you that he will passe for wordes? They be brought into this opinion chieflye, because that in those partes of the worlde, leagues be-

twene princes be wont to be kepte and obserued very skenderly. For here in Europa, and especiallye in these partes where the faith and religion of Christe reigneth, the maiestie of leagues is euerye where esteemed holy and inuiolable: partlie through the iustice and goodnes of princes, and partly at the reuerence and motion of the head Bishops. Which like as they make no promisse themselues, but they do verie religiouslye perfourme the same, so they exhorte all princes in any wise to abide by their promisses, and them that refuse or denye so to do, by their pontificall powre, and authoritie they compell thereto. And surely they thinke well that it might seme a verie reprochfull thing, yf in the leagues of them which by a peculiare name be called faithful, faith should haue no place. But in that newe founde parte of the world, which is scasellie so farre frome vs beyond the line equinoctiall, as our life and maners be dissident from theirs, no trust nor confidence is in leagues. But the mo and holier ceremonies the league is knitte vp with, the soner it is broken by some caùillation founde in the wordes, which many times of purpose be to craftelie put in, and placed, that the bandes can neuer be so sure nor so stronge, but they will find some hole open to crepe out at, and to breake both league and trueth. The whiche craftye dealing, yea the whiche fraude and deceite, if they should know it to be practised among priuate men in their bargaines and contractes, they would incontinent crie out at it with an open mouth, and a sower countenance, as an offense moste detestable, and worthy to be punnyshed with a shamefull deathe: yea euen very they that auauce themselues authours of lyke counsell geuen to princes. Wherefore it may wel be thought, either that al iustice is but a basse and a low vertue, and which aualeth it self farre vnder the highe dignitie of kynges: Or at the least wise, that there be two iustices, the one meete for the inferiour sorte of the people, goynge a fote and crespynge lowe by the grounde, and bounde down on euery side

with many bandes, bycause it shall not run atrouers. The other a princelye vertue, which like as it is of much hyghermaiestie, then the other pore iustice, so also it is of muche more libertie, as to the which nothing is vnlawfull that it lusteth after. These maners of princes (as I said) whiche be there so euell kep̄ers of leagues, cause the Utopians, as I suppose, to make no leagues at al, which perchaunce would change their minde if they liued here. Howbeit they thinke that thoughe leagues be neuer so faithfullye obserued and kepte, yet the custome of makynge leagues was very euell begon. For this causeth men (as though nations which be seperat a sondre, by ye space of a litle hil or a riuier, were coupled together by no societic or bonde of nature) to thinke themselues borne aduersaries and enemies one to an other, and that it were lawfull for the one to seke the death and destruction of the other, if leagues were not: yea, and that after ye leagues be accorded, frendship doth not grow and encrease: But the licence of robbing and stealing doth styll remaine, as farfurth as for lack of foresight and aduisement in writing the wordes of the league, any sentence or clause to the contrarie is not therin sufficientlie comprehended. But they be of a contrarye opinion. That is, that no man oughte to be counted an enemye, whiche hath done no iniurye. And that the felowshippe of nature is a stronge league: and that men be better and more surely knit together by loue and beneuolence, then by couenauntes of leagues: by hartie affection of minde, then by wordes.

Of warfare.



WARRE or battel as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kinde of beastes in so muche vse as to man, they do detest and abhorre. And contrarie to the custome almooste of all other nations, they counte nothyng

so muche against glorie, as glory gotten in warre. And therefore thoughte they do daylie practise and exercise themselues in the discipline of warre, and not onelie the men, but also the women vpon certen appointed daies, lest they should be to feke in the feate of armes, if nede should require, yet they neuer go to battell, but either in the defence of their owne countrey, or to driue out of their frendes lande the enemies that haue inuaded it, or by their power to deliuer from the yocke and bondage of tyrannye some people, that be therewith oppressed. Which thing they do of meere pitie and compassion. Howbeit they sende helpe to their frendes, not euer in their defence. But sometymes also to requite and reuenge iniuries before to them done. But this they do not onlesse their counsell and aduise in the matter be asked, whiles it is yet newe and freshe. For if they finde the cause probable, and if the contrarie part wil not restooore agayne suche thynges as be of them iustelye demaunded, then they be the chiefe autours and makers of the warre. Whiche they do not onlie as ofte as by inrodes and inuasions of soldiours praies and booties be driuen awaye, but then also muche more mortally, when their frendes marchauntes in anie lande, either vnder the pretence of vniuste lawes, or elles by the wrestinge and wronge vnderstandinge of good lawes, do susteine an vniust accusation vnder the colour of iustice. Neither the battell whiche the Utopians fought for the Nephelogetes against the Alaopolitanes a litle before oure time was made for any other cause, but that the Nephelogete marchaunt men, as the Utopians thought, suffred wrong of the Alaopolitanes, vnder the pretence of righte. But whether it were righte or wronge, it was with so cruel and mortal warre reuenged, the countreis rounde about ioyninge their helpe and powre to the pursaunce and malice of bothe parties, that moste flourishing and wealthy peoples, being some of them shrewedly shaken, and some of them sharply beaten, the mischeues wer not finished nor ended, vn-

til the Alaopolitanes, at the last were yelded vp as bondemen into the iurisdiction of the Nephelogetes. For the Utopians fought not this war for themselues. And yet the Nephelogetes before the warre, when the Alaopolitanes flourished in wealth, wer nothing to be compared with them. So egerlye the Utopians prosequete the iniuries done to their frendes: yea, in money matters, and not their owne likewise. For if they by coueyne or gile be wiped beside their goodes, so that no violence be done to their bodies, they wreake their anger by absteininge from occupieng with that nation, vntil they haue made satisfiacion. Not forbicause they set lesse floore by their owne citizeins, then by their frendes: but that they take the losse of their frendes money more heuelie then ye losse of their own. Bicause that their frendes marchaunte men, forasmuche as that they leise is their own priuate goods, fusteine great dammage by the losse. But their owne citizeyns leise nothing but of the commen goods, and of that whiche was at home plentiful and almost superfluous, els had it not bene sent furth. Therefore no man feleth the losse. And for this cause they thinke it to cruell an acte, to reuenge that losse with the deathe of manie, the incommoditie of the which losse no man feeleth neither in his lyfe, nor yet in his liuing. But if it chaunce that any of their men in any other countrey be maimed or killed, whether it be done by a commen or a priuate counsel, knowyng and trying out the trueth of the matter by their ambassadours, onlesse the offenders be rendered vnto them in recompence of the iniurie, they will not be appeased: but incontinent they proclaime warre against them. The offenders yelded, they punishe either with death, or with bondage. They be not only sory, but also ashamed to atchieue the victorie with bloodshed, counting it greate folie to bie Victorie deare bought. precious wares to dere. They reioyse and auaint themselues, if they vanquishe and oppresse their enemies by craft and deceite. And for that act they

make a generall triumph, and as yf the matter were manfullye handeled, they fet vp a pyller of stone in the place where they so vanquished their enemies, in token of the victorie. For then they glorie, then they boaste, and cracke that they haue plaied the men in deede, when they haue so ouercommen, as no other liuing creature but onely man could: that is to faye, by the by the mighte and puifauce of wit. For with bodily strength (say they) beares, lions, boores, wulfes, dogges, and other wild beastes do fight. And as the moste part of them do passe vs in strength and fierce courage, so in wit and reason we be much stronger then they all. Their chief and principall purpose in warre, is to obtaine that thynge, whiche if they had before obtained, they woulde not haue moued battell. But if that be not possible, they take so cruell vengeaunce of them whiche be in the faulte, that euer after they be aferde to do the like. This is their chiefe and principall intent, whiche they immediatlie and first of al prosequete, and setforwarde. But yet so, that they be more circumspecte, in auoidinge and eschewynge ieopardies, then they be desierous of prayse and renowne. Therefore immediatlye after that warre is ones solemnelie denounced, they procure many proclamations signed with their owne commen seale to be set vp priuillie at one time in their enemies lande, in places moste frequented. In these proclamations they promisse greate rewardes to hym that will kill their enemies prince, and some what lesse giftes, but them verye greate also, for euerye heade of them, whose names be in the faide proclamations conteyned. They be those whom they count their chiefe aduerfaries, next vnto the prince. Whatfoeuer is prescribed vnto him that killeth any of the proclaimed persons, that is dabled to him that bringeth anye of the same to them aliue: yea, and to the proclaimed persones themselues, if they wil chaunge their mindes, and come into them, taking their partes, they profer the same greate rewardes with pardone, and suertie of their liues. Therefore it quickly commeth to passe that their ene-

mies haue all other men in suspicion, and be vnfaithfull, and mistrusting among themselues one to another, liuing in great feare, and in no lesse ieopardie. For it is well knowen, that diuers times the most part of them (and speciallie the prince him selfe) hath bene betraied of them, in whom they put their moste hope and trust. So that there is no maner of act nor dede that giftes and rewardes do not enforce men vnto. And in rewardes they kepe no measure. But remembering and considering into how great hasarde and ieopardie they cal them, endeuoure themselues to recompence the greatnes of the daunger with like great benefites. And therefore they promise not only wonderful greate abundance of golde, but also landes of greate reuenues lieng in most safte places among their frendes. And their promisses they perourme faythfully withoute annye fraude or couyne. This custome of byinge and fellynge aduersaryes among other people is dysallowed, as a cruel acte of a basse and a cowardyshe mynde. But they in this behalfe thinke themselves muche prayse woorthy, as who lyke wyse men by this meanes dispatche greate warres withoute anny battell or skyrmyshe. Yea they counte it also a dede of pytye and mercye, bicause that by the deathe of a fewe offenders the lyues of a greate numbere of innocentes, aswel of their owne men as also of their enemies be raunsomed and saued, which in fighting shoulde haue bene sleane. For they doo no lesse pytye the basse and common sorte of their enemies people, then they doo their owne: knowing yat they be driuen and enforced to warre againste their willes by the furyous madnes of their princes and heades. Yf by none of these meanes the matter goo forwarde, as they woulde haue it, then they procure occaysons of debate, and diffention to be spredde amonge their enemies. As by bringinge the princes brother, or some of the noble men in hoope to obtayne the kingedome. Yf this waye preuayle not, then they reyse vp the people that be nexte neyghbours and borderers to their enemies, and them they

fette in their neckes vnder the coloure of some olde tytyle of ryghte, such as kynges doo neuer lacke. To them they promyffe their helpe and ayde in their warre. And as for moneye they gyue them abundance. But of their owne cytizeins they fende to them fewe or none. Whome they make so much of, and loue so intierlye, that they would not be willing to chaunge anye of them for their aduersaries prince. But their gold and filuer, bycause they kepe it all for thys only purpose, they laye it owte frankly and frely: as who shoulde lyue euen as wealthely, if they hadde bestowed it euerye penny. Yea and besydes their ryches, whyche they kepe at home, thei haue also an infinite treafure abrode, by reason that (as I fayde before) manye nations be in their debte. Therefore they hieie soldiours oute of all countreis and fende them to battayle, but cheifly of the zapoletes. This people is. 500. myles from Utopia eastwarde. They be hideous, sauage, and fyerce, dwellynge in wild woodes and high mountaines, where they were bredde and brought vp. They be of an harde nature, hable to abide and fusteine heate, colde, and labour, abhorrynge from all delicate deintyes, occupyenge no husbandrye nor tyllage of the ground, homelye and rude both in buildinge of their houses and in their apparrel, geuen vnto no goodnes, but onely to the breedinge and bringyng of cattel. The moste parte of their luyng is by huntynge and stealyng. They be borne onelye to warre, whyche they diligentely and earnestely feke for. And when they haue gotten it, they be wonders glad thereof. They goo furthe of their countreye in greate companyes together, and who foeuer lackethe souldyours, there they proffer their seruice for small wages. This is onelye the craft they haue to gette their liuyng by. They maynteyne their lyfe, by sekinge their deathe. For them whomewyth they be in wayges they fyghte hardelye, fyerflye, and faythefullye. But they bynde themselves for no certeyne tyme. But vpon this condition they

entre into bondes, that the nexte daye they wyll take parte with the other fyde for greater wayges, and the nexte daye after that, they wyll be readye to come backe agayne for a lytle more moneye. There be fewe warres thereawaye, wherein is not a greate numbere of them in bothe partyes. Therefore it dayelye chauncethe that nye kynfelowke whyche were hiered together on one parte, and there verye frendelye and familiarlye vsed themselves one wyth another, shortly after beinge separte in contrarye partes, runne one agaynste another enuyouflye and fyercelye: and forgettinge bothe kindred and frendeshyppe, thruste their swordes one in another. And that for none other cause, but that they be hyered of contrarye prynces for a lytle moneye. Whyche they doo so hyghlye regarde and esteame, that they will easelye be prouoked to chaunge partes for a halfe-penye more wayges by the daye. So quykelye they haue taken a smacke in couetefenes. Whyche for all that is to them no proffyte. For that they gette by fyghtynge, immediatlye they spende vnthryftelye and wretchedlye in ryotte. This people fighteth for the Utopians agaynste all nations, bycause they geue them greater wayges, then annye other nation wyll. For the Utopians lyke as they seke good men to vse wel, so they seke these euell and vicious men to abuse. Whome, when neade requirethe, with promisses of greate rewardes they putte forthe into great ieopardyes. From whens the mooste parte of them neuer cummeth againe to aske their rewardes. But to them that remaine aliue they paye yat which they promissed faithfully, that they maye be the more willinge to put themselves in like daunger another time. Nor ye Utopianes passe not how many of them they bring to destruction. For they beleue yat they should doo a verye good deade for all mankind, if they could ridde out of ye worlde all that fowle stinking denne of that most wicked and cursed people. Next vnto thies they vse ye soldiours of them for whom they fighte. And then the helpe of their other frendes. And laste of all, they ioyne to

theire oune citizens. Emong whome they giue to one of tried vertue and prowes the reule, gouernaunce, and conduction of the whole armye. Vnder him they appoynte ij. other, whyche, whyles he is fauffe, be bothe priuate and oute of offyce. But yf he be taken or flayne, the one of the other. ij. succedeth hym, as it were by inherytaunce. And if the seconde miscarrye, then the thirde taketh his rowme, leaste that (as the chaunce of battell is vncerteine and doubtful) the ieopardye or deathe of the capitaine shoulde brynge the whole armye in hafarde. They chuefe foldyours out of euery citey those, whych putte furthe themselffes wyllngelye. For they thruste no man forthe into warre agaynste his wyll. Bycause they beleue, yf annye man be fearefull and fainte harted of nature, he wyll not onelye doo no manfull and hardy acte hym selfe, but also be occayson of cowardenes to his fellowes. But if annye battell be made agaynste theire owne countreye, then they putt these cowardes (so that they be stronge bodyed) in shyppes amonge other bolde harted men. Or elles they dyspose them vpon the walles, from whens they maye not flye. Thus what for shame that theire enemies be at hande, and what for bycause they be without hope of runninge awaye, they forgette all feere. And manye times extreame necessytye turnethe cowardnes into prowes and manlynes. But as none of them is thrust forthe of his countrey into warre agaynste his wyll, so women that be wyllng to accompany theire husbandes in times of warre be not prohibited or letted. Yea they prouoke and exhorte them to it with prayfes. And in set fylde the wyues doo stande euerye one by theire owne husbandes syde. Also euery man is compassed next aboute with his owne children, kinffolkes, and aliaunce. That they, whom nature chiefly moueth to mutual succoure, thus standynge together, maye healpe one another. It is a great reproche, and dishonesty for the husband to come home without his wiffe, or the wyffe withoute her husbände, or the sonne without his father.

And therefore if the other part sticke so harde by it, that the battel come to their handes, it is fought with great slaughter and bloodshed, euen to the vtter destruction of both partes. For as they make all the meanes and shyftes that maye be to kepe themselves from the necessitye of fyghtinge, or that they may dispatche the battell by their hiered foldyours: so when there is no remedy, but that they muste neades fight themselves, they they do as corragiously fall to it, as before, whyles they myght, they did wiselye auoyde and refuse it. Nor they be not most fierce at the first bront. But in continuance by litle and lytle their fierce courage encreaseth, with so stubborne and obstynate myndes, that they wyll rather dye then gyue back an ynche. For that fuertye of lyuinge, whiche euerye man hath at home beinge ioyned with noo carefull anxietye or remembraunce how their posteritie shall lyue after them (for his pensifnes oftentimes breakethe and abateth couragious stomakes) maketh them slowte and hardye, and disdaineiful to be conquered. Moreouer their knowledge in cheualrye and feates of armes putteth them in a good hope. Finally the wholesome and vertuous opinions, wherin they were brought vp euen from their childhode, partely through learnynge, and partlye through the good ordinaunces and lawes of their weale publique augmente and encrease their manfull courage. By reason whereof they neither set so litle store by their liues, that they will rasshelye and vnduifedlye cast them away: nor they be not so farre in lewde and fond loue therewith, that they will shamefullye couete to kepe them, when honestie biddeth leaue them. When the battel is hottest and in al places most fierce and feruent, a bende of chofen and picked yong men, whiche be sworne to liue and dye together, take vpon them to destroye their aduerfaries capitaine. Whome they inuade now with priuy wieses, now by open strength. At him they strike both nere and farre of. He is affayled with a long and a con-

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tinuall affaulte freshe men styll commynge in the weries mens places. And seldome it chaunceth (onles he he saue hymselfe by flying) that he is not either slayne, or els taken prifoner, and yelded to his enemies aliue. If they wyne the fyelde, they persecute not their enemies with the violent rage of slaughter. For they had rather take them aliue, then kyl them. Neither they do so follow the chafe and pursute of their enemies, but they leaue behinde them one parte of their hoste in battaile arraye vnder their standardes. In so muche that if al their whole armie be discumfeted and ouercum sauing the rereuarde, and that they therewith atchieue the victory, then they had rather lette al their enemies scape, then to followe them out of array. For they remembre, it hath chaunced vnto themselves more then ones: the whole powre and strength of their hoste being vanquished and put to flight, whiles their enemies reioysing in the victory haue persecuted them flying some one way and some another, a small companie of their men lying in an ambushe, there redy at all occasions, haue sodainelye ryfen vpon them thus disperfed and scattered oute of arraye, and through presumption of safety vnaduisedly pursuing the chafe: and haue incontinent changed the fortune of the whole battayll: and spite of their tethes wrestinge oute of their handes the sure and vndouted victorye, being a litle before conquered, haue for their parte conquered the conquerers. It is hard to say whether they be craftier in layinge an ambushe, or wittier in auoydinge the same. You would thinke they intende to flye, when they meane nothing lesse. And contrarye wyse when they go about that purpose, you wold beleue it were the leaste parte of their thought. For if they perceauē themselves either ouermatched in numbere, or closed in too narrowe a place, then they remoue their campe either in the night season with silence, or by some pollicie they deceaue their enemies, or in the day time they retiere backe so softelye, that it is no lesse ieoperdie to medle with them when they geue backe, then when they preese on. They fence and

fortifie their campe fewerlye with a deape and a brode trenche. The earth therof is cast inward. Nor they do not fet drudgeis and flaues a worke about it. It is doone by the handes of the fouldiours them felfes. All the whole armye worketh vpon it: excepte them that kepe watche and warde in harneis before the trenche for fodeine auentures. Therefore by the labour of fo manye a large trenche closinge in a greate compaffe of grounde is made in leffe tyme then anye man woulde beleue. Their armour or harneys, whiche they Their armour. weare, is sure and strong to receaue strokes, and handsome for all mouinges and gestures of the bodye, infomuche that it is not vnweldye to swimme in. For in the discipline of their warefare amonge other feates thei learne to swimme in harnes. Their weapons be arrowes aloufe: whyche they shote both strongely and surelye, not onelye fotemen, but also horsemen. At hande strokes they vse not swordes but pollaxes, whiche be mortall, aswel in sharpenes, as in weyghte, both for foynes and downe strokes. Engines for warre they deuise and inuent wonders wittelye. Whiche when they be made they kepe verye secrete, leaste yf they shoulde be knowen before neade requyre, they shoulde be but laughed at and serue to no purpose. Bnt in makynge them hereunto they haue chiefe respecte, that they be both easy to be caried, and handsome to be moued, and turned about. Of truces.

Truce taken with their enemies for a shorte time they do so firmelye and saythfullye keape, that they wyll not breake it: no not though they be thereunto prouoked. They doe not waste nor destroye their enemies lande with forraginges, nor they burne not vp their corne. Yea, they saue it as muche as may be from being ouerrunne and troden downe either with men or horses, thinkinge that it growethe for their owne vse and proffit. They hurt no man that is vnarmed, onles he be an espiall. All cities that be yelded vnto them, they defende. And suche as they wynne by force of assaulte, they neither dispoyle nor sacke, but them that withstode and dyffuaded the

yeldynge vp of the fame, they put to deathe, the other fouldiours they punnyſhe with bondage. All the weake multitude they leaue vntouched. If they knowe that annye citezeins counſelled to yealde and rendre vp the citie, to them they gyue parte of the condemned mens goods. The reſydewe they diſtribute and giue frelye amonge them, whoſe helpe they had in fame warre. For none of them ſelfes taketh any portion of the praye. But when the battaile is finiſhed and ended, they put their frendes to neuer a penny coſte of al the charges that they were at, but laye it vpon their neckes that be conquered. Then they burdeine with the whole charge of their expenſeis, whiche they demaunde of them partelye in moneie to be kept for like uſe of battayll, and partelye in landes of greate reuenues to be payde vnto them yearelye for euer. Suche reuenues they haue now in manye countreis. Whiche by litle and litle ryſynge of dyuers and fondry cauſes be increaſed aboue. vij. [ſeven] hundrethe thouſand ducates by the yere. Thether they ſende forth ſome of their citezeins as Lieuetenautes, to liue there ſumptuouſly like men of honoure and renowne. And yet this not withſtandynge muche moneye is ſaued, which commeth to the commen treaſory: onles it ſo chaunce, that they had rather truſt ye countrey with the money. Which many times they do ſo long, vntil they haue nede to occupie it. And it ſeldome happeneth, that thei demaund al. Of theſe landes they aſſigne parte vnto them, which at their requeſt and exhortacion put themſelves in ſuch ieopardies, as I ſpake of before. If anye prince ſtirre vp warre agaynſte them, intending to inuade their lande, they mete hym incontinent oute of their owne borders with greate powre and ſtrengthe. For they neuer lyghtely make warre in their owne countrei. Nor they be neuer broughte into ſo extreme neceſſitie as to take
 helpe out of forreyne
 landes into their
 owne Ilande.

Of the religions in Utopia.



Here be diuers kindes of religion not only in fondrie partes of the Ilande, but also in diuers places of euery citie. Some worship for God the sonne: some the mone: some, some other of the planettes.

There be that giue worship to a man that was ones of excellent vertue or of famous glory, not only as God, but also as the chiefeft and hygheft God. But the moſte and the wyfeft parte (reiectyng al theſe) beleue, that there is a certayne Godlie powre vnknown, euerlaſtinge, incomprehenſible, inexplicable, farre aboue the capacitie and retche of mans witte, diſperſed throughout all the worlde, not in bignes, but in vertue and power. Him they call the father of al. To him alone they attribute the beginniges, the encreaſinges, the procedinges, the chaunges, and the endes of al thinges. Neither they geue any diuine honours to any other then to him. Yea al ye other alſo, though they be in diuers opinions, yet in this pointe they agree all togethers with the wiſeſt ſorte, in beleuing that there is one chiefe and principall God, the maker and ruler of the whole worlde: whome they all commonlye in their countrey language call Mythra. But in this they diſagree, that among ſome he is counted one, and amonge ſome an other. For euery one of them, whatſoeuer yat is whiche he taketh for the chief god, thinketh it to be the very ſame nature, to whoſe only diuine mighte and maieſtie, the ſumme and ſoueraintie of al thinges by the conſent of al people is attributed and geuen. Howbeit they all begyn by litle and litle to forſake and fall from this varietie of ſuperſtitions, and to agre togethers in that religion whiche ſemethe by reaſon to paſſe and excell the reſidewe. And it is not to be doubted, but all the other would long agoo haue bene abolifhed, but that whatſoeuer vnproſperous thyng happened to anie of

them, as he was mynded to chaunge his religion, the fearefulnesse of people did take it, not as a thinge comminge by chaunce, but as sente from GOD out of heauen. As though the God, whose honoure he was forfakynge, woulde reuenge that wicked purpose against him. But after they hearde vs speake of the name of Christe, of his doctrine, lawes, myracles, and of thee no lesse wonderful constancie of so manye martyrs, whose bloude wyllinglye shedde broughte a great nombre of nations throughoute all partes of the worlde into their sect: you will not beleue with howe gladdes mindes, they agreed vnto the same: whether it were by the secreete inspiration of GOD, or elles for that they thought it nieghest vnto that opinion, which among them is counted the chiefeft. Howbeit I thinke this was no smale helpe and furtheraunce in the matter, that they harde vs say, that Christe instituted among his, al thinges commen: and that the same Religious hou- communitie doth yet remaine amongest the
ses. rightest Christian companies. Verely how-
foeuer it came to passe, manye of them consented together in our religion, and were wasshed in ye holy water of baptisme. But because among vs foure (for no mo of vs was left a liue, two of our companye beyng dead) there was no priest, which I am right sorie for: they beyng entered and instructed in al other pointes of our religion, lacke only those sacramentes, whiche here none but priestes do minister. Howbeit they vnderstand and perceiue them, and be very desierous of ye same. Yea, they reason and dispute ye matter earnestly among themselues, whether without ye sending of a christian bishop, one chosene out of their own people may receaue the ordre of priesthod. And truly they were minded to chuese one. But at my departure from them they had chosene none. They also which do not agree to Christes religion, feare no man from it, nor speake against any man that hath receiued it. Sauiug that one of our company in my presence was sharply punished. He as soone as he

was baptised, began against our willes, with more earnest affection, then wisdom, to reason of Christes religion: and began to waxe so hote in his matter, that he did not onely preferre our religion before al other, but also did vtterly despise and condempne all other, calling them prophane, and the folowers of them wicked and deuellish, and the children of euerlastinge dampnation. When he had thus longe reasoned the matter, they laide holde on him, accused him, and condempned him into exile, not as a despiser of religion, but as a sedicious person, and a raiser vp of diffention amonge the people. For this is one of the auncientest lawes amonge them: that no man shall be blamed for reſoninge in the maintenaunce of his owne religion. For kyng Utopus, euen at the firſte beginning, hearing yat the inhabitauntes of the land wer before his comming thether, at continuall diffention and strife amonge themſelues for their religions: perceyuing also that this common diffention (whiles euerie ſeuerall ſecte tooke ſeueral partes in fighting for their countrey) was the only occaſion of his conqueſt ouer them al, aſſone as he had gotten the victory: Firſte of all he made a decree, that it ſhould be lawfull for euerie man to fauoure and folow what religion he would, and that he mighte do the beſt he could to bring other to his opinion, ſo that he did it peaceable, gentelie, quietly, and ſoberlie, without haſtie and contentious rebuking and inuehing againſt other. If he could not by faire and gentle ſpeche induce them vnto his opinion yet he ſhould uſe no kinde of violence, and refraine from diſpleaſaunte and ſeditious woordes. To him that would vehemently and feruentlye in this cauſe ſtrive and contende was decreed, banishment or bondage. This lawe did kyng Utopus make not only for the maintenaunce of peace, which he ſaw through continuall contention and mortal hatred vtterly extinguished: but also becauſe he thought this decree ſhould make for the furtheraunce of religion. Wherof he durſt define and determine nothing vnad-

Sedicious re-
soners puni-
shed.

uifedlie, as douting whether god defiering manifolde and diuerfe fortes of honour, would inspire fondry men with fondrie kindes of religion, And this fuerly he thought a very vnmete and folish thing, and a point of arrogant prefumption, to compell all other by violence and threateninges to agre to the fame, that thou beleueft to be trew. Furthermore thoughte there be one religion, whiche alone is trew, and al other vaine and fuperftitious, yet did he wel forefee (fo that the matter were handeled with reason, and fober modestie) that the trueth of the own powre would at the laft iffue out and come to lyghte. But if contention and debate in that behalfe fould continuallye be vfed, as the woorfte men bemoofte obftinate and ftubbourne, and in their euyll opinion moofte conftante: he perceaued that then the beft and holyeft religion woulde be troden vnderfote and deftroyed by moft vaine fuperfticions, euen as good corne is by thornes and weedes ouergrown and chooked. Therefore all this matter he left vndifcuffed, and gaue to euerye man free libertie and choife to beleue what he woulde. Sauinge that he earnestelye and ftraitley charged them, that no

No vile opini-
on to be con-
ceaued of mans
worthy nature.

man fould conceaue fo vile and baafe an opinion of the dignitie of mans nature, as to think that the foules do die and perifhe with the bodye: or that the world runneth at al auentures gouerned by no diuine prouidence. And therefore thei beleue that after this life vices be extreameleye punished and vertues bountiffully rewarded. Hym that is of a contrary opinion they counte not in the nombre of men, as one that hath aualed the heighe nature of hys foule to the vielnes of brute beaftes bodies: muche leffe in the nombre of their citiziens, whose lawes and ordenaunces, if it were not for feare, he wold nothing at al esteeme. For you maye be fuer that he will studie either with craft priuely to mocke, or els violently to breake the commen lawes of his countrey, in whom remaineth no further feare then of the lawes, nor no further hope then of the

bodye. Wherefore he that is thus minded is deprived of all honours, excluded from all common adminiftrations in the weale publique. And thus he is of all fortes despifed, as of an vnprofitable, and of a bafe and vile nature. Howbeit they put him to no punishment, because they be perfuaded, that it is in no mans power to beleue what he list. No nor they conftaine hym not with threatninges to difsemble his minde, and fhew countenance contrarie to his thought. For deceit and falshod and all maners of lies, as nexte vnto fraude, they do marueloufflie detefte and abhorre. But they fuffer him not to difpute in his opinion, and that onelye amonge the comen people. For els aparte amonge the prieftes and men of grauitie they do not onelye fuffer, but alfo exhorte him to difpute and argue: hoping that at the laft, that madnes will geue place to reason. There be alfo other, and of them no fmall numbre, which be not forbidden to fpeake their mindes, as grounding their opinion vpon fome reason, beyng in their liuing neither euell nor vicious. Their herefie is much contrarie to the other. For they beleue that the foules of brute beaftes be immortall and euerlafting. But nothyng to be compared with oures in dignitie, neither ordeined nor predefinate to like felicitie. For al they beleue certainly and feverly that mans bleffe fhall be fo great, that they do mourne and lament euery mans ficknes, but no mans death, oneles it be one whome they fee depart from his life carefullie, and agaynft his will. For this they take for a verye euel token, as though the foule beyng in difpaire, and vexed in confcience, through fome priuie and fetret forefeiling of the punishment now at hande were aferde to depart. And they thinke he fhall not be welcome to God, which when he is called, runneth not to him gladlye, but is drawen by force and fore againft his will. They therefore that fee this kinde of deathe, do abhorre it,

Irreligious
people secluded
from all
honours.

A verye ftraung
fayinge.

Deceit and falshod
detefte.

A maruelous
ftraunge opinion
touching
the foules of
brute beaftes.

To die vnwil-
lyngly an euel
token.

and them that so die, they burie with sorow and silence. And when they haue praied God to be mercifull to the soule, and mercifully to pardon the infirmitie therof, they couer the dead coorse with earth. Contrariewise all that departe merely and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the heerse with ioyfull synging, commending the soules to God with great affection. And at the last, not with mourning sorow, but with a great reuerence they bourne the bodies. And in the same place they sette vp a pillar of stone, with the dead mans titles therein graued. When they be come home they reherse his vertuous maners and his good dedes. But no part of his life is so oft or gladly talked of, as his merited. They thinke that this remembraunce of the vertue and goodnes of the dead doeth vehemently prouoke and enforce the liuing to vertue. And that nothing can be more pleasaunt and acceptable to the deade. Whom they suppose to be present among them, when they talke of them, though to the dull and feble eyesight of mortall men they be inuisible. For it were an vnconuenient thinge, that the blessed shoulde not be at libertie to goo whether they woulde. And it were a pointe of greate vnkindnes in them to haue vtterly cast away the desire of visitinge and seing their frendes, to whome they were in their life time ioyned by mutuall loue and amitie. Whiche in good men after their deathe they counte to be rather increased then diminished. They beleue therefore that the deade be presentlye conuersaunt amonge the quicke, as beholders and witneses of all their wordes and dedes. Therefore they go more corragiously to their busines as hauing a trust and affiaunce in such ouerseers. And this same belefe of the present conuersation of their forefathers and auncetours among them, feareth them from all secrete dishonestie. They vtterly despise and mocke sothsayinges and diuinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and

A willing and
a merye deathe
not to be lamented.

Sothsayers
not regarded
nor credited.

all other diuinations of vaine superstition, whiche in other countreys be in greate obseruation. But they highlye esteeme and worshyppe miracles that come by no healpe of nature, as woorkes and witnesses of the presente power of God. And suche they saye do chaunce there verye often. And sometimes in great and doubtfull matters, by commen intercession and prayers, they procure and obtaine them with a sure hope and confidence, and a steadfast belefe.

Miracles.

The life contemplative.

They thinke that the contemplation of nature, and the prayse thereof comminge, is to God a very acceptable honour. Yet there be many so earnestly bent and affectioned to religion, that they passe no thing for lerning, nor geue their mindes to any knowledge of thinges. But ydelnes they vtterly forsake and eschue, thinking felicitie after this life to be gotten and obtained by busie labors and good exercises. Some therefore of them attende vpon the sicke, some amende high waies, clenfe ditches, reparaire bridges, diggeurfes, grauell, and stoness, fel and cleaue wood, bring wood, corne and other thinges into the cities in cartes, and serue not onely in commen woorkes, but also in priuate laboures as seruantes, yea, more then bondmen. For what so euer vnpleasaut, harde, and vile worke is anye where, from the whiche labour, lothsomnes, and desperation doth fray other, al that they take vpon them willingly and gladly, procuringe quiete and rest to other, remaininge in continual woork and labour themselues, not embraidinge others therewith. They neither reprove other mens liues, nor glorie in their owne. These men the more seruiceable they behaue themselues, the more they be honoured of all men. Yet they be diuided into two sectes. The one is of them that liue single and chaste, absteyning not onely from the companie of women, but also from eating of fleshe, and some of them from all maner of beastes. Whiche vtterly reiecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all whollye set vpon the desier of the lyfe to come by watchynge, and sweatyng, hoop-

The life active.

inge shortly to obtaine it, being in the meane season merie and lustie. The other secte is no lesse desirous of labour, but they embrace matrimonye, not despisyng the solace therof, thinking that they can not be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature without labour and toyle, nor towards their native cuntry without procreation of children. They abstaine from no pleasure that doeth nothinge hinder them from labour. They loue the flesh of foure footed beastes, bicause they beleue that by yat meate they be made hardier and stronger to worke.

It is not all
one to be wise
and good.

The Utopians counte this secte the wiser, but the other the holier. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharp life before an easier life, if herein they grounded vpon reason they would mock them. But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honor and worship them. And these be they whom in their language by a peculiar name, they cal Buthrefcas, the which word by interpretation signifieth to vs men of religion

Priestes.

or religious men. They haue priestes of exceding holines, and therefore very few. For there be but xiiij. in euery cite accordinge to the number of their churches, sauyng when they go furthe to battell. For than. viij. of them goo furth with the armie: in whose steades so manie newe be made at home. But the other at their retourne home again reentre euery one into his owne place, they that be aboute the numbre, vntill suche time as they succede into the places of the other at their dyinge, be in the meane season continuallie in companie with the bishoppe. For he is the chiefe heade of them al. They be chosen of the people, as the other magistrates be by secrete voices for the auoydinge of strife. After their election they be consecrate of their own companie. They be ouerseers of al diuine matters, orderers of religions, and as it wer iudges and maisters of maners. And it is a great dishonestie and shame to be rebuked or spoken to by any of them for dissolute and incont-

ent liuing. But as it is their office to geue good exhortations and counfel, fo is it ye dutie of the prince and the other magiftrates to correct and punifhe offenders, fauing that the prieftes, whome they find exceeding vicious liuers, them they excommunicate from hauing anye intereft in diuine matters. Excommunication. And there is almoſte no puniſhement amonge them more feared. For they runne in verye great infamie, and be inwardly tormented with a ſecret feare of religion, and ſhall not long ſcape free with their bodies. For vnleſſe they by quicke repentaunce approue the amendement of their liues to the prieftes, they be taken and puniſhed of the counfel, as wicked and irreligious. Both childhode and youth is inſtructed, and taught of them. Nor they be not more diligente to inſtructe them in learning, then in vertue and good maners. For they vſe with verie great endeouour and diligence to put into the heades of their children, whiles they be yet tender and pliaunte, good opinions and profitable for the conſeruation of their weale publique. Which when they be once rooted in children, do remayne with them al their life after, and be wonders profitable for the defence and maintenaunce of the ſtate of the commen welth. Whiche neuer decaieth but throughe vices riſing of euill opinions. The prieftes, onles Women prieftes. they be women (for that kinde is not excluded from priethood, howbeit fewe be choten, and none but widdowes and old women) the men prieftes, I ſaye, take to their wiſes the chiefeſt women in all their countreye. For to no office among the Utopians is more honour and preeminence geuen. In ſo much that if they commit any offence, they be vnder no commen iudgement, but be left only to god and themſelves. The maiestic and preeminence of prieftes. For thei thinke it not lawful to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer ſo vitious, which after ſo ſingular a fort was dedicate and conſecrate to god, as a holly offering. This maner may they eaſelye obſerue, bicauſe they haue ſo fewe prieftes, and do chuſe them with ſuch circumſpec-

tion. For it scasely euer chaunceth, that the moſte vertuous amonge vertuous, which in reſpect only of his vertue is auanced to ſo high a dignity, can fal to vice and wickednes. And if it ſhould chaunce in dede (as mans nature is mutable and fraile) yet by reaſon they be ſo fewe, and promoted to no might nor powre, but only to honoure, it were not to be feared yat anye great damage by them ſhould happen and enſue to the comen wealthe. They haue ſo rare and fewe prieſtes, leaſt if the honoure were communicated to many, ye digniti of the ordre, which among them now is ſo highly eſtemed, ſhould rune in contempt. Speciallye bicauſe they thincke it hard to find many ſo good, as to be meet for that dignity, to the execution and diſcharge whereof it is not ſufficiente to be endued with meane vertues. Furthermore theſe prieſtes be not more eſtemed of their owne countrey men, then they be of forrein and ſtraunge countreis. Which thinge maye hereby plainly appere. And I thincke alſo yat this is the cauſe of it. For whiles ye armies be fighting together in open feld they a litle beſide not farre of knele vpon their knees in their hallowed veſtimentes, holding vp their handes to heauen: praing firſt of all for peace, nexte for vyctory of their owne parte, but to neyther part a bluddy vyctory. If their hoſt gette the vpper hand, they runne in to the mayne battayle, and reſtrayne their owne men from ſleying and cruelly purſuinge their vanquyſhed enemies. Whyche enemies, yf they doo but ſee them and ſpeake to them, it is ynoughe for the fauegarde of their lyues. And the touching of their clothes defendeth and faueth al their gooddes from rauine and ſpoyle. This thinge hathe auanced them to ſo greate wourſhip and trewe maieſty among al nations, that manye times they haue aſwel preferued their own citizens from ye cruel force of their enemies, as they haue their enemies from the furyous rage of their owne men. For it is well knowen, that when their owne army hathe reculed, and in dyſpayre turned backe, and runne away, their ennemies ſyerlye purſuing

with slaughter and spoyle, then the priestes cumming betwene haue stayed the murder, and parted bothe the hostes. So that peace hath bene made and concluded betwene bothe partes vpon equall and indifferent conditions. For there was neuer any nation, so fierce, so cruell, and rude, but they hadde them in suche reuerence, that they counted their bodyes hallowed and sanctified, and therefore not to be violentlye and vnreuerentlye touched.

They kepe hollye the firste and the laste daye of euery moneth and yeare, diuidinge the
 yeare into monethes, whyche they measure by the course of the moone, as they
 doo the yeare by the course of the sonne. The obserua-
 tion of holy
 daies amonge
 the Utopians The fyrste
 dayes they call in their language Lynemernes, and
 the laste Trapemernes, the whyche woordes may be
 interpreted, primifeste and finifest, or els in our speache,
 first feaste and last feast. Their churches be
 verye gorgeous, and not onelye of fine and
 curious workmanship, but also (which in the fewenes
 of them was necessary) very wide and large, and hable
 to receaue a great company of people. But they be al
 sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not
 donne through ignoraunce in buildinge,
 but as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Their chur-
 cheis
 Bicause they thought that ouer much light doth disperse
 mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte
 they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed vp-
 on religion and deuotion: which bicause it is not there
 of one sort among all men, and yet all the kindes and
 fassions of it, thoughe they be sondry and manifold,
 agre together in the honour of the diuine nature, as
 goyng diuers wayes to one ende: therefore nothing is
 sene nor heard in ye churches, but that semeth to agre
 indifferently with them all. If there be a distinct
 kind of sacrifice peculiar to anye feueral secte, that
 they execute at home in their owne houfes. The com-
 mon sacrifices be so ordered, that they be no derogation
 nor preiudice to anye of the priuate sacrifices and re-
 ligions. Therefore no ymage of annye god is seene in
Churcheis of
 dimme light
 and a reason
 why

the church, to the intente it maye bee free for euery man to conceiue god by their religion after what likenes and similitude they will. They call vpon no peculiar name of god, but only Mithra In the which word they all agree together in one nature of the diuine maiesti whatsoeuer it be. No prayers bee vsed but suche as euerye man maye boldelie pronounce withoute the offendinge of anny secte. They come therefore to the church, the laste day of euerye moneth and yeare in the euenynge yet fastinge, there to gyue thanks to GOD for that they haue prosperouslye passed ouer the yeare or monethe, wherof that hollye daye is the laste daye. The nexte daye they come to the church earlye in the mornyng, to praye to GOD that they maye haue good fortune and successe all the newe yeare or monethe whych they doo begynne of that same hollye daye. But in the holly dayes that be the laste dayes of the monethes and yeares, before they come to the church, the wiues fall downe prostrat before their husbandes

The confessi-
on of the Uto-
pians.

feet at home, and the children before the feete of their parentes, confessinge and acknowledginge themselves offenders either by some actuall dede, or by omission of their deuty, and desire pardon for their offense. Thus yf anye cloude of priuy displeasure was risen at home, by this satisfiacion it is ouerblowen, that they may be presente at the sacrifices with pure and charitable mindes. For they be aferd to come there with troubled consciences. Therefore if they knowe themselves to beare anye hatred or grudge towards anye man, they presume not to come to ye sacrifices, before they haue reconciled themselves and purged their consciences, for feare of greate vengeance and punyshement for their offense. When they come thether, the men goo into

An order for
places in the
Church.

the ryghte syde of the church, and the women into the lefte syde. There they place themselves in suche ordre, that all they whyche be of the male kinde in euery household sitte before the goodman of ye house, and they of the female

kinde before the goodwyfe. Thus it is forfene that all their gestures and behaiours be marked and obserued abrode of them by whose authority and discipline they be gouerned at home. This also they diligently see vnto, that the younger euermore be coupled with his elder, lest children beinge ioyned together, they should passe ouer yat time in childish wantonnes, wherin they ought principally to conceaue a religious and deuoute feare towardes god : which is the chiefe and almost ye only incitation to vertu. They kill no liuing beast in sacrifice, nor they thinke not that the merciful clemencie of god hath delite in bloude and slaughter, which hath geuen liffe to beastes to the intent they should liue. They burne frank-^{Ceremonies.} kenfence, and other sweet fauours, and light also a greate numbere of waxe candelles and tapers, not supposinge this geare to be any thing auaylable to the diuine nature, as neither ye prayers of men. But this vnhurtful and harmeles kind of worship pleaseth them. And by thies sweet faoures and lightes, and other such ceremonies men feele themselves secretlye lifted vp, and encouraged to deuotion with more willynge and feruent hartes. The people weareth in the churche white apparell, The priest is clothed in changeable colours. Whiche in workemanshipe bee excellent, but in stufte not verye pretious. For their vestimentes be neither embrauded with gold, nor set with precious stones. But they be wrought so fynely and conningelye with diuers fethers of foules, that the estimation of no costely stufte is hable to counteruaile the price of the worke. Furthermore in these birdes fethers, and in the dewe ordre of them, whiche is obserued in their setting, they saye, is conteyned certaine diuine misteries. The interpretation whereof knowen, whiche is diligentlye taught by the priestes, they be put in remembraunce of the bountifull benefites of God towarde them : and of the loue and honoure whiche of their behalfe is dewe to God : and also of their duties one towarde another. When the priest first

commeth out of the vestry thus apparelled, they fall downe incontinent euerye one reuerentlye to the ground, with so still silence on euerye part, that the very fassion of the thinge striketh into them a certayne feare of God, as though he were there personally presente. When they haue lien a litle space on the ground, the priest geueth them a signe for to ryse. Then they sing prayfes vnto God, whiche they intermixt with in-

Theire churche
musike.

strumentes of musicke, for the moste parte of other fassions then these that we vse in this parte of the worlde. And like as some of ours bee muche sweter then theirs, so some of theirs doo farre passe ours. But in one thinge doubtles they goo exceeding farre beyonde vs. For all their musike bothe that they playe vpon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse naturall affections, the found and tune is so applied and made agreable to the thinge, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mournynge, or of anger; the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye moue, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes. At the laste the people and the priest together rehearse solempne prayers in

Prayers.

woordes, expreflye pronounced, so made that euerye man maye priuatelye applye to hymselfe that which is commonlye spoken of all. In these prayers euerye man recognisethe and knowledgethe God to be hys maker, hys gouernoure, and the principal cause of all other goodnes, thankyng him for so many benefites receaued at his hande. But namelye that throughe the fauoure of God he hath chaunced into that publyque weale, whiche is moste happye and welthye, and hath chosen that religion, whyche he hopeth to be moste true. In the whyche thinge if he doo anye thinge erre, or yf there be any other better then eyther of them is, being more acceptable to God, he desierethe him that he wyl of his goodnes let him haue knowledge thereof, as one that

is ready too followe what way foeuer he wyll leade hym. But yf this fourme and fassion of a commen wealthe bee beste, and his owne relygion most true and perfecte, then he desyrethe GOD to gyue hym a constaute stedefastnes in the same, and too brynge all other people to the same ordre of lyuyng, and to the same opinion of God onles there bee annye thinge that in this diuersitye of religions dothe delite his vnfercheable pleasure. To be shorte he prayeth hym, that after his deathe he maye come to hym. But how soone or late that he dare not assynge or determine. Howebeit, if it myght stande with his maiesties pleasure, he woulde be muche gladder to dye a paynefull deathe and so to goo to God, then by longe lyuing in worldlye prosperitye to bee awaye from him. Whan this prayer is said they fal doune to the ground againe and a lytle after they ryse vp and go to dinner. And the resydewe of the daye they passe ouer in playes, and exercise of cheualrye.

Nowe I haue declared and described vnto you, as truely as I coulde the fourme and ordre of that commen wealth, which verely in my iudgment is not only the beste, but also that which alone of good right maye claime and take vpon it the name of a commen wealth or publique weale. For in other places they speake stil of the commen wealth. But euery man procureth his owne priuate gaine. Here where nothinge is priuate, the commen affaires bee earnestlye loked vpon. And truely on both partes they haue good cause so to do as they do. For in other countreys who knoweth not that he shall sterue for hunger, onles he make some feuerall prouision for himselfe, though the commen wealthe floryshe neuer so muche in ryches? And therefore he is compelled euen of verye necessitie to haue regarde to him selfe, rather then to the people, that is to saye, to other. Contrarywyse there where all thinges be commen to euery man, it is not to be doubted that any man shal lacke anye thinge necessary for his priuate vses: so that the commen store houfes and barnes be sufficientlye stored.

For there nothinge is distributed after a nyggyſhe ſorte, neither there is anye poore man or begger. And though no man haue anye thinge, yet euerye man is ryche. For what can be more riche, then to lyue ioyfully and merely, without al grieſe and penſifenes: Not caring for his owne lyuing, nor vexed or troubled with his wiſes importunate complayntes, nor dreadynge pouertie to his ſonne, nor ſorrowng for his doughters dowrey? Yea they take no care at all for the lyuing and wealthe of themſelves and al theirs, of their wyſes, their chyldren, their nephewes, their childrens chyldren, and all the ſucceſſion that euer ſhall followe in their poſteritie. And yet beſydes this there is no leſſe prouiſion for them that were ones labourers, and be nowe weake and impotent, then for them that do nowe labour and take payne. Here nowe woulde I ſee, yf anye man dare bee ſo bolde as to compare with this equitye, the iuſtice of other nations. Among whom, I forſake God, if I can fynde any ſigne or token of equitye and iuſtice. For what iuſtice is this, that a ryche goldeſmythe, or an vſurer, or to bee ſhorte anye of them, which either doo nothing at all, or els that whyche they doo is ſuch, that it is not very neceſſary to the common wealth, ſhould haue a pleaſaunte and a welthie lyuinge, either by Idlenes, or by vn-neceſſarye buſines: When in the meane tyme poore labourers, carters, yronſmythes, carpenters, and plowmen, by ſo greate and continual toyle, as drawing and bearinge beaſtes be ſkant hable to ſuſteine, and againe ſo neceſſary toyle, that without it no common wealth were hable to continewe and endure one yere, ſhould yet get ſo harde and poore a lyuing, and lyue ſo wretched and miſerable a lyfe, that the ſtate and condition of the labouringe beaſtes maye ſeme muche better and welthier? For they be not put to ſoo continuall labour, nor their lyuinge is not muche worſe, yea to them muche pleaſaunter, takynge no thoughte in the meane ſeaſon for the tyme to come. But theſe feilye poore wretches be preſently tormented

with barreyne and vnfrutefull labour. And the remembrance of their poore indigent and beggerlye olde age kylleth them vp. For their dayly wages is so lytle, that it will not suffice for the same daye, muche lesse it yeldeth any ouerplus, that may daylye be layde vp for the relyefe of olde age. Is not this an vniust and an vnkynde publyque weale, whyche gyueth great fees and rewardes to gentlemen, as they call them, and to goldfynthes, and to fuche other, whiche be either ydle perfones, or els onlye flatterers, and deuysers of vayne pleasures: And of the contrary parte maketh no gentle prouision for poore plowmen, coliaris, laborers, carters, yronfynthes, and carpenters: without whome no comen wealth can continewe? But after it hath abused the labours of their lusty and flowring age, at the laste when they be oppressed with olde age and fyckenness: being nedye, poore, and indigent of all thinges, then forgettyng their so manye paynefull watchinges, not remembring their so manye and so greate benefites, recompenseth and acquyteth them mozte vnkyndly with myserable death. And yet besides this the riche men not only by priuate fraud, but also by comen lawes do euery day pluck and snatche awaye from the poore some parte of their daily liuing. So where as it semed before vniuste to recompense with vnkindnes their paynes that haue bene beneficiall to the publyque weale, nowe they haue to this their wrong and vniuste dealinge (which is yet a muche worse pointe) geuen the name of iustice, yea and that by force of a law. Therefore when I consider and way in my mind all these comen wealthes, which now a dayes any where do flourish, so god helpe me, I can perceauie nothing but a certain conspiracy of riche men procuringe their owne commodities vnder the name and title of the comen wealth. They inuent and deuise all meanes and craftes, first how to kepe safely, without feare of lesing, that they haue vniustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the worke and labour of the poore for as litle money as may be. These deuises, when the

riche men haue decreed to be kept and obserued vnder coloure of the comminalltie, that is to saye, also of the pore people, then they be made lawes. But these most wicked and vicious men, when they haue by their vnsatiable couetousnes deuided among them selues al those things, whiche woulde haue sufficed all men, yet how farre be they from the wealth and felicitie of the Utopian commen wealth? Out of the which, Contempte of Money. in that all the desire of money with the vse thereof is vtterly secluded and banished, howe greate a heape of cares is cut away? How great an occasion of wickednes and mischiefe is plucked vp by ye rotes? For who knoweth not, that fraud, theft, rauine, brauling, quarelling, brabbling, striffe, chiding, contention, murder, treason, poisoning, which by daily punishmentes are rather reuenged then refrained, do dye when money dieth. And also that feare, grieffe, care, laboures, and watchinges do perish euen the very same moment that money perisheth? Yea pouerty it selfe, which only semed to lacke money, if money were gone, it also would decrease and vanishe away. And that you may perceauē this more plainly, consider with your selves some barein and vnfruteful yeare, wherin manye thousandes of people haue starued for honger: I dare be bolde to say, yat in the end of that penury so much corne or grain might haue bene found in the rich mens bernes, if they had bene searched, as being diuided among them whome famine and pestilence then consumed, no man at al should haue felt that plague and penuri. So easely might men gette their liuing, if that same worthy princeffe lady money did not alone stop vp the waye betwene vs and our lyuing, which a goddes name was very excellently deuised and inuented, that by her the way therto should be opened. I am fewer the ryche men perceauē this, nor they be not ignoraunte how much better it were too lacke noo necessarye thing, then to abunde with ouermuche superfluite: to be ryd oute of innumerable cares and troubles, then to be be-

feiged and encombred with great ryches. And I dowte not that either the respecte of euery mans priuate commoditie, or els the authority of oure sauioure Christe (which for his great wifdom could not but know what were best, and for his inestimable goodnes could not but counsel to that which he knew to be best) wold haue brought all the worlde longe agoo into the lawes of this weale publike, if it wer not yat A maruelous sayinge. one only beast, ye princeffe and mother of all mischiese Pride, doth withstande and let it. She measurethe not wealth and prosperity by Pryde. her owne commodities, but by the miserie and incommodities of other, she would not by her good will be made a goddesse, yf there were no wretches left, ouer whom she might like a scorneful ladie rule and triumph, ouer whose miseries her felicities mighte shyne, whose pouertie she myghte vexe, tormente, and encrease by gorgiouflye settynge furthe her richeffe. Thys hell hounde creapeth into mens hartes: and plucketh them backe from entering the right pathe of life, and is so depely roted in mens brestes, that she can not be plucked out. This fourme and fashon of a weale publike, which I would gladly wish vnto al nations: I am glad yet that it hath chaunced to the Utopians, which haue folowed those institutons of life, whereby they haue laid such foundations of their common wealth, as shal continew and last not only wealthely, but also as far as mans wit may iudge and coniecture, shall endure for euer. For, seyng the chiefe causes of ambition and fedition, with other vices be plucked vp by the rootes, and abandoned at home, there can be no ieopardie of domistricall dissention, whiche alone hath caste vnder foote and brought to noughte the well fort[i]fied and stronglie defenced wealthe and riches of many cities. But forasmuch as perfect concorde remaineth, and wholsome lawes be executed at home, the enuie of al forein princes be not hable to shake or moue the empire, though they haue many tymes long ago gone about to do it, beyng euermore driuen backe.

Thus when Raphaell hadde made an ende of his tale, though many thinges came to my mind, which in the maners and lawes of that people femed to be instituted and founded of no good reason, not onely in the fashion of their cheualry, and in their sacrifices and religions, and in other of their lawes, but also, yea and chiefly, in that which is the principal foundation of al their ordinances, that is to say, in the communitie of their life and liuyng, withoute anye occupieng of money, by the whiche thinge onelye all nobilitie, magnificence, wourshippe, honour, and maiestie, the true ornamentes and honoures, as the common opinion is, of a common wealth, vtterlye be ouerthrowen and destroyed: yet because I knew that he was wery of talking, and was not sure whether he coulde abyde that anye thyng shoulde be sayde againste hys mynde: speciallye remembryng that he had reprehended this faulte in other, which be aferde lest they shoulde seme not to be wise enough, onles they could find some fault in other mens inuentions: therefore I praising both their institutions and hys communication, toke him by the hand, and led him into supper: sayinge that we woulde chuese an other time to waye and examine the same matters, and to talke with him moore at large therin. Whiche woulde God it might ones come to passe. In the meane time as I can not agree and consent to all thinges that he saide, beyng els without doubt a man singularly well learned, and also in all worldelye matters exactly and profoundly experienced: so must I nedes confesse and graunt that many thinges be in the Utopian weale publique, whiche in our cities I maye rather wishe for, then hope after.

¶ Thus endeth the afternoones talke of Raphael Hythlodaye concerning the lawes and institutions of the Ilande of Utopia.

To the right honourable Hierome Buslyde, prouost Arienn, and counselloure to the catholike kinge Charles, Peter Gyles, Citizein of Antwerpe, wisheth health and felicitie.



THomas More the singular ornamente of this our age, as you your self (right honourable Buslyde) can witnesse, to whome he is perfectly wel knowen, sent vnto me this other day the ylande of Utopia, to very few as yet knowen, but most worthy, which as farre excelling Platoes commen wealthe, all people shoulde be willinge to know: specially of a man most eloquent so finely set furth, so conningly painted out, and so evidently subiect to the eye, that as oft as I reade it, me thinketh that I see fomwhat more, then when I heard Raphael Hythloday himselfe (for I was present at that talke aswell as master More) vtterying and pronouncing his owne woordes: Yea, though the same man, accordinge to his pure eloquence, did so open and declare the matter, that he might plainly enough appeare, to reporte not thinges, which he had learned of others onelye by hearesay, but which he had with his own eyes presently sene, and throughly vewed, and wherin he had no smal time bene conuersant and abiding: a man true, in mine opinion, as touching the knowledge of regions, peoples, and worldly experience, muche passinge, yea euen they very famous and renowmed trauailer Vlysses: and in dede suche a one, as for the space of these viij. c. [eight hundred] yeres past I think nature into the worlde brought not furth his like: in comparison of whome Vespuce maye be thought to haue sene nothing. Moreouer, wheras we be wont more effectually and pitthely to declare and expresse thinges that we haue sene, then whiche we haue but onelye hearde, there was besides that in this man a certen peculiar grace, and singular dexteritie to discriue and set furth a matter withall. Yet the selfe same thinges as ofte as I beholde and con-

sider them drawn and painted oute with master Mores
 penfille, I am therewith fo moued, fo delited, fo inflamed,
 and fo rapt, that fometime me think I am prefently
 conuerfaunt, euen in the ylande of Utopia. And I pro-
 mife you, I can skante beleue that Raphael himfelfe by
 al that fūe yeres fpace that he was in Utopia abiding,
 faw there fomuch, as here in master Mores defcription
 is to be fene and perceaued. Whiche defcription with
 fo manye wonders, and miraculous thinges is repleni-
 fhed, that I ftande in great doubt wherat firft and chief-
 lie to mufe or marueile: whether at the excellencie of
 his perfect and fuer memorie, which could welniegh
 worde by woorde rehearfe fo manye thinges once onely
 heard: or elles at his fingular prudence, who fo well
 and wittily marked and bare away al the originall caufes
 and fountaynes (to the vulgare people commenly moft
 vnknownen) wherof both yffueth and fpringeth the mor-
 tall confufion and vtter decaye of a commen wealth, and
 alfo the auauancement and wealthy ftate of the fame may
 riefte and growe: or elles at the efficacie and pitthe of
 his woordes, which in fo fine a latin ftile, with fuche
 force of eloquence hath couched together and com-
 prifed fo many and diuers matters, speciallie beinge a
 man continuallie encombred with fo manye bufye and
 troublefome cares, both publique, and priuate, as he
 is. Howbeit all thefe thinges caufe you litle to mar-
 uell (righte honourable Bullid) for that you are fami-
 liarly and throughly acquainted with the notable, yea
 almoft diuine witte of the man. But nowe to procede
 to other matters, I fuerly know nothing nedeful or re-
 quifite to be adioyned vnto his writings: Onely a
 meter of. iiij. verfes written in the Utopian tongue,
 whiche after master Mores departure Hythloday by
 chaunce fhewed me, that haue I caufed to be added
 thereto, with the Alphabete of the fame nation, and
 haue alfo garnifhed the margent of the boke with cer-
 ten notes. For, as touchinge the fituation of the
 ylande, that is to faye, in what parte of the worlde
 Utopia ftandeth, the ignoraunce and lacke whereof not

a litle troubleth and greueth master More, in dede Raphael left not that vnspoken of. Howbeit with verie fewe wordes he lightly touched it, incidentlye by ye way passing it ouer, as meanyng of likelihod to kepe and referue that to an other place. And the same, I wot not how, by a certen euell and vnluckie chaunce escaped vs bothe. For when Raphael was speaking therof, one of master Mores seruantes came to him, and whispered in his eare. Wherefore I beyng then of purpose more earnestly addict to heare, one of the company, by reason of cold taken, I thinke, a shippeborde, coughed out so loude, that he toke from my hearinge certen of his wordes. But I wil neuer stynte, nor rest, vntil I haue gotte the full and exacte knowledge hereof: infomuche that I will be hable perfectly to instructe you, not onely in the longitude or true meridian of the ylande, but also in the iust latitude therof, that is to say, in the subleuation or height of the pole in that region, if our frende Hythloday be in safetie, and aliuie. For we heare very vncerten newes of him. Some reporte, that he died in his iorney homewarde. Some agayne affirme, that he returned into his countrey, but partly, for that he coulde not away with the fashions of his countrey folk, and partly for that his minde and affection was altogether fet and fixed vpon Utopia, they say that he hathe taken his voyage thetherwarde agayne. Now as touching this, that the name of this yland is nowhere founde amonge the olde and auncient cosmographers, this doubtte Hythloday himfelse verie well dissolued. For why it is possible enoughe (quod he) that the name, whiche it had in olde time, was afterwarde chaunged, or elles that they neuer had knowledge of this iland: forasmuch as now in our time diuers landes be found, which to the olde Geographers were vnknown. Howbeit, what nedeth it in this behalfe to fortifie the matter with argumentes, seyngemaster More is author hereof sufficient? But whereas he doubteth of the edition or imprinting of the booke, indeede herein I both commende, and also knowledge the

mannes modestie. Howbeit vnto me it semeth a worke most vnworthie to be long suppressed, and most worthy to go abroad into ye handes of men, yea, and vnder the title of youre name to be publyshed to the worlde: either because the singular endowmentes and qualities of master More be to no man better knowen then to you, or els bicause no man is more fitte and meete, then you with good counselles to further, and auauance the commen wealth, wherin you haue many yeares already continued and trauailed with great glory and commendation, bothe of wisedome and knowledge, and also of integritie and vprightnes. Thus o liberall supporter of good learninge, and floure of this oure time

I byd you mošte hartely well to fare. At

Antwerpe .1516. the first daye of
Nouember.

**A meter of .iiii. verses in the Utopian
tongue, briefely touchinge aswell the straunze
beginning, as also the happie and wealthie
continuance of the same common
wealth.**

V *Topos ha Boccas peula chama polta chamaan.
Bargol he maglomi Baccan foma g ymnosophaon.
Agrama g ymnosophon labarem bacha bodamilomin.
Voluala barchin heman la lauoluala dramme pagloni.*

¶ Whiche verses the translator, accordinge to his simple knowledge, and meane vnderstanding in the Utopian tongue, hath thus rudely englished.

MY kinge and conquerour Utopus by name
Hath made me an yle that earst no ylande was,
Ful fraught with worldly welth with pleasure and solas.
I one of all other without philosophie
Haue shaped for man a philosophicall citie.
As myne I am nothings daungerous to imparte,
So better to receaue I am readie with al my harte.

¶ A shorte meter of Utopia, written by Anemolius poete laureate, and nephewe to Pythlodaye by his sister.

ME Utopie cleped Antiquitie,
 Voyde of haunte and herboroughe,
 Nowe am I like to Platoes citie,
 Whose fame flieth the worlde throughe.
 Yea like, or rather more likely
 Platoes platte to excell and passe.
 For what Platoes penne hath platted briefly
 In naked wordes, as in a glasse,
 The same haue I perfourmed fully,
 With lawes, with men, and treasure fyttely.
 Wherefore not Utopie, but rather rightly
 My name is Eutopie: A place of felicitie.

¶ Gerarde Nouiommage of Utopia.

DOth pleasure please? then place the here, and
 well the rest,
 Most pleasaunt pleasures thou shalte finde here.
 Doeth profit ease? then here arriue, this yle is best.
 For passinge profettes do here appeare.
 Doeth bothe thee tempte, and woldest thou gripe both
 gaine and pleasure?
 This yle is fraught with both bounteoufly.
 To still thy gredie intent, reape here incomparable treas-
 Bothe minde and tongue to garnishe richelie. [ure
 The hid welles and fountaines both of vice and vertue
 Thou hast them here subiect vnto thine eye.
 Be thankful now, and thankes where thankes be due
 Geue to Thomas More Londons immortal glorye.

¶ Cornelius Graphcy to Reader.

Vilt thou knowe what wonders straunge be in the
 lande that late was founde? [godly be?
 Wilt thou learne thy life to leade, by diuers ways that
 Wilt thou of vertue and of vice, vnderstande the very
 grounde? [vanitie?
 Wilt thou see this wretched world, how ful it is of

Then read, and marke, and beare in mind, for thy
 behoufe, as thou maie best.
 All thinges that in this present worke, that worthie
 clerke fir Thomas More,
 With witte diuine ful learnedly, vnto the worlde hath
 plaine exprest,
 In whom London well glory maye, for wisedome and
 for godly lore.

¶ The Printer to the Reader.



He Vtopian Alphabete, good Reader, whiche
 in the aboue written Epistle is promised,
 hereunto I haue not now adioyned, because
 I haue not as yet the true characters or four-
 mes of the Utopiane letters. And no mar-
 ueill: seyng it is a tongue to vs muche straunger then the
 Indian, the Persian, the Syrian, the Arabicke, the Egyp-
 tian, the Macedonian, the Sclauonian, the ciprian, the
 Scythian etc. Which tongues though they be nothing so
 straunge among vs, as the Utopian is, yet their characters
 we haue not. But I trust, God willing, at the next impressi-
 on hereof, to perfourme that, whiche nowe I can not: that is
 to saye: to exhibite perfectly vnto thee,
 the Utopian Alphabete. In the
 meane time accept my good
 wyl. And so fare well.

¶ Imprinted at London in Pau-
 les Churche yarde, at the sygne of the
 Lambe, by Abraham Weale.

M.D.LVI.

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